The Mastery of the Pacific

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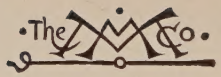
THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC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THE EFFECT OF SUNRISE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN VILLAGE OF JAVA

THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC

BY

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WITH SPECIAL MAPS, FRONTISPIECE, AND MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL SKETCHES AND PHOTOGRAPHS

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To My Wife

PREFACE

The writer of this book has long been a traveller in foreign lands and a student of foreign affairs, but more especially of the questions which find their focus in the Far East. Among the changes and shiftings of human activity which have taken place in the world's history, none have been more striking than those which are rapidly transforming the great ocean zone of the Pacific. Remoteness and isolation are becoming less and less possible over the face of the globe, as distance is annihilated by modern science, but the vast Pacific, until quite recent times, deserved the name bestowed on it by its earliest discoverer, and was free from the entanglements of modern politics. On its borders, however, great changes were taking place, young Powers were arising, and at the appointed time the barriers were cast down and the Pacific became an arena for the ambitious of the nations and a highway for international commerce.

That the future of more than one Great Power will be decided in this arena, where will occur the great struggle of the twentieth century, was the conviction borne in on the writer by many events that cast their shadow before. He therefore determined to study for himself such portions of the ocean territories as had hitherto been unvisited by him and to renew his acquaintance with others.

With the American-Pacific slope he was already acquainted, and a residence of considerable duration in the United States had also given him a certain insight into American affairs. With the entire Asiatic-Pacific coast he was familiar, nor was his knowledge limited to the littoral. There remained the continent of Australia and the many islands with which the Pacific is studded. The latter group themselves into four chief sections: those belonging respectively to the United States, Great Britain, and Holland, — the three chief colonial Powers in the Far East, — and the island empire of Japan with its colony Formosa. With some of these the writer was already acquainted, and others he visited during 1901. The Pacific possessions of the four chief Powers have been treated separately in the following pages, while the other Powers interested in the Pacific have been dealt with in a single chapter.

It was felt that a study, however imperfect, of the present conditions in the Pacific area would be incomplete without some slight account of the past history and the peoples found there. This is given in outline in the opening chapter, but for the sake of brevity the writer, while following the best authorities, has been compelled to curtail certain portions, particularly those dealing with prehistoric times, so that scientific accuracy may perhaps have suffered. This work, however, is neither scientific nor historical, and the aim of the introductory chapter is merely to give the reader a general idea of the past history of that ocean which will play so important a part in the future.

This brief explanation will serve to indicate the scope

of the work, and it need only be added that while commercial interests have been considered, the main object has been to present a vivid impression of the various countries, — their peoples, scenery, social and political life, and the parts they are destined to play in the great drama of the mastery of the Pacific.

The writer has to acknowledge his indebtedness to many who assisted him in his last journey, more particularly to the Government of the United States, to many British and Japanese officials whose names it is impossible to give, and to the British North Borneo Company.

The sketches and many of the photographs were taken during the journey by Mrs. A. R. Colquhoun; for others the writer's thanks are due to the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* of Netherlands India, to Surgeon-major Horace F. Cross, R.N., Schloss Fürst, Meran (for admirable photographs of Oceanica), John F. Horsburgh, Esq. (Australia and New Zealand), Dr. Johnstone, of Singapore (Borneo), John Macleod, Esq., Manila, Thomas Taylor, Pangasinau, P. I. (Philippines), and to several other friends who will perhaps accept this general expression of the writer's gratitude.

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INTRODUCTION

DYAK HEAD-HUNTING PARTY

CHAPTER I

THE STORY OF THE PACIFIC

In the dim far-off ages of the past, into which we can only peer vaguely through the researches of science, it seems more than probable that a great number of the islands of the Pacific were gathered into continents, and that while those on the west formed part of Asia, those on the south-west were joined to Australia. It has been conjectured, moreover, that a great continent lay in mid-Pacific, of which the scattered islands of Polynesia are the only remains; but be that as it may, the whole subject is so enwrapped in the mist of ages as to make it unlikely that any definite conclusion can be come to.

The line dividing the Asian and Australian groups of islands is so singular in its course that it repays a careful study of the map. It is drawn between the islands of Bali and Lombok and eastward of Celebes and the Philippines, so that the Philippines, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, Java, and Sumatra are Asiatic, and New Guinea, the Moluccas, and the chain from Timor to Lombok

belong to Australia. This division, unnatural as it seems — for from Sumatra to Timor the islands present a chain unbroken in appearance — is warranted both by the flora and fauna. The narrow but deep strait between Bali and Lombok is the dividing line between the characteristic species of the two continents, and this rule applies almost constantly to the islands on either side of the line indicated, with allowances for artificial introduction. The island of Celebes alone presents the phenomenon of many unique species of both flora and fauna, and the usually accepted explanation is that this island was detached from its parent continent at an extremely remote period, when Asia and Australia had been but recently severed. This accounts for affinities to the characteristic species of both continents while many of the most ordinary are entirely lacking. Subsequent modifications in continental forms did not, therefore, affect the island of Celebes. The next to break off from Australia were the Moluccas, and the eastern chain of islands, traversed by a band of volcanoes to whose eruptions no doubt much of their fragmentary character is due. At a later date New Guinea separated from North Australia, and Sumatra and Java detached themselves from the Malay Peninsula.

When these islands first became inhabited it is impossible to say, but from the wide area covered by the two races generally supposed to be the aborigines of the Southern and Western Pacific it is almost certain that the peopling must have taken place to some extent before the break-up. The Asiatic and Australian division already indicated also gives roughly the boundary between the two dark-skinned races of the Pacific Islands, who must be regarded, despite affinities, as two distinct

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

ALASKA
YUKON
MACKENZIE
KEEWATIN
ATHABASCA
HUDSON BAY
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
DOMINION OF CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
NICARAGUA
PERU
ECUADOR
CHILE
Gulf of Mexico
Sitka
Vancouver
Victoria
Portland
San Francisco
Salt Lake City
Denver
Chicago
Detroit
Montreal
Ottawa
Toronto
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
Cincinnati
St. Louis
Chicago
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Winnipeg
Port Churchill
Baker L.
Chesterfield Inlet
Southampton I.
Athabasca L.
Peace
Fort Simpson
Gt. Bear L.
Gt. Slave L.
Kodiak I.
Queen Charlotte Is.
Edmonton
Battleford
Calgary
Regina
Winnipeg
Port Arthur
Sudbury
Ottawa
Toronto
Buffalo
Cleveland
Pittsburg
Cincinnati
Nashville
Richmond
Charleston
Savannah
Atlanta
Memphis
Vicksburg
Mobile
Pensacola
New Orleans
Galveston
Tampico
Mexico
Vera Cruz
Acapulco
Havana
Cuba
Jamaica
Belize
Tehuantepec
Guadalajara
Guaymas
Chihuahua
Mazatlan
San Blas
Revilla Gigedo Is.
Clipperton I.
Galapagos Is.
Quito
Guayaquil
Callao
Lima
Pisco
Arica
Iquique
Cobija
Antofagasta
St. Felix
St. Ambrose
Copiapo
Carrizal
Coquimbo
Valparaiso
Santiago
Juan Fernandez
Masafuera
La Concepcion
Valdivia
Corral
Chonos Archipelago
Sala y Gomez
Easter I.
Ducie I.
Pitcairn I.
Oparo I.
Tubuai or Austral Is.
Society Islands
Tahiti
Tuamotu or Low Archipelago
Marquesas Islands
Caroline I.
Malden I.
Starbuck I.
Christmas I.
Hawaiian or Sandwich Is.
Hawaii
Guadaloupe I.
Lower California
Sydney to Vancouver 4320 miles
San Francisco 4750 miles
Sydney to Vancouver 6750 m.
San Francisco to Honolulu 2080 miles
Auckland to Panama 6180 miles (Proposed)
Limit of Drift Ice
Open
Projected
Longitude West 120 of Greenwich
150
135
120
105
90
75
60
45
30
15
0

branches of the Ethiopic family. Australia itself is inhabited by a Caucasic race. On the Asiatic side were a race of extreme antiquity, black-skinned, prognathous people, with frizzed hair, flat noses, broad lips, and many other traits characteristic of the negro race in Africa, but smaller, weaker, and of a less lively disposition. On the other hand were a race of tall, strong men, black, with extremely wiry and frizzy hair, hook noses, prominent eyebrows, and a peculiarly lively, excitable disposition. The former are the Negritos, now found only in parts of the Philippines, where they have inhabited for ages certain remote and mountainous districts; in the Malay Peninsula, where a small number still remain and are known as Semangs; and in the Andaman Islands, while in one or two other spots their influence can be traced. The second race, whose home is considered to be New Guinea, are called Papuans. Their distinguishing characteristics are probably due to mixed blood. The so-called Melanesians are allied to them. They have spread as far as the Fiji Islands on the east, and to New Caledonia on the south, while there are signs of their influence throughout Micronesia. Into the Pacific islands inhabited by these black races there came at

NEGRITOS

some uncertain period of time a white or Caucasian people. They had peopled Southern and Eastern Asia, and thence branched out, possibly through Japan, reaching beyond the lands already inhabited by the black races until they established themselves far out in the Pacific, on the beautiful islands of Samoa, thence spreading throughout Polynesia. They were the ancestors of the splendid race found in the Tonga, Friendly, Cook, Society, Marquesas, Sandwich, and many other islands. They found their way to New Zealand, where they are known as Maoris. Their light skin, well-formed features, wavy hair, and fine figures are united to many graces of disposition, and their language, although there are numerous dialects and a number of foreign words have been incorporated, is nevertheless distinct from any other in use. Traces of this early Caucasic race are still found throughout Southern and Eastern Asia. In Japan it is represented by the Ainus, but is not found in the Malay Archipelago (except perhaps in two small islands off the east coast of Sumatra), and only exists in a pure and primitive state in the Eastern Pacific islands, known as Polynesia.

These Polynesians seem to possess a curiously one-sided civilisation, for although they build good houses, make cloth, and practise other domestic arts, while their women occupy a superior position such as is usually only found with the most civilised races, they are apparently uniformly ignorant of pottery-making, one of the most ancient of all the arts. But, unless they have retrograded to a degree which is hardly conceivable, they must have been preceded in the islands by another and even more ancient race, which possessed the art of working in stone to a degree far above the ability of the

Polynesians. These lost and forgotten races must have been the makers of some very remarkable stone buildings. It may be mentioned also that although tablets covered with unknown hieroglyphics have been found in their midst, the Polynesians have no written language. No adequate explanation has yet been found for the innumerable ruins scattered over the islands of the Pacific, of which, perhaps, the most remarkable are in the remotest, Easter Island, the most easterly of all the Pacific Isles, situated 1400 miles beyond the next in the chain (Pitcairn), and 2000 from the coast of South America. The extraordinary extent and character of these ruins, which include eighty to a hundred stone houses, decorated inside with figures of birds, animals, faces, and geometric designs in red, black, and white; hundreds of rude carvings on rocks; wide terraces, a hundred feet broad, used as platforms for three-quarter-length statues of figures wearing crowns; wooden tablets covered with hieroglyphics, and many other interesting relics — these, when we consider the isolated position and the fact that we have no clue as to the people who wrought them, make Easter Island one of the wonders of the world. No iron tools have been found, but it

PAPUAN TYPE

is almost incredible that such work should have been done without them. A gigantic figure, found in this island, is now in the British Museum, and its extraordinary cast of countenance, resembling no living race of mankind, adds another puzzle to the difficult and fascinating question. A theory, only advanced because of its possibility, since the writer knows of no scientific fact to support it, is that from the South American kingdoms, whose ancient civilisation is a known fact, may have come wanderers who settled in some of the islands, taught the people a few of their own arts, and were gradually fused into the Caucasian race, while the civilisation they had brought died out in the third and fourth generation. The only tradition current among the people, who are of the Polynesian race, is that they came originally from Rapa — one of the Austral group. Extensive ruins of a slightly different character were found by the Spaniards in the Ladrones three and a half centuries ago, and to-day these are rendered the more mysterious by the fact that none of the natives of the islands now remain, having been entirely exterminated by their conquerors. If any further evidence of the remarkable nature of these ruins is wanted, it may be added that the size and weight of some of the stones employed, together with the distance from which they must have been transported, proves that the ancient builders must have had engineering skill and apparatus almost equal to those of the builders of the Pyramids.

We now come to the third period in the story of the inhabitants of the Pacific, and that story begins to emerge somewhat from the realm of mystery. The Mongol invasion swept across Asia, down through Tartary to Indo-China, and fusing partially with the white

race on the coast sent forth emigrants of a mixed Caucasian-Mongol stock. These found an asylum in the two large islands of Borneo and Sumatra, spreading from the former to the Philippines, and probably mingled with both the Negritos and the white race, and later on with the Chinese. It has been said already that no race of such marked Caucasian type as the Polynesian is found in Borneo or the Philippines, but they may have existed and been absorbed by their successors. The Pre-Malays, or Indonesians, as they have been called, are known in Borneo as Dyaks, in Sumatra as Battaks, and in the Philippines under a variety of tribal names, of which Igorrote is perhaps the most familiar. They are characterised by a light copper-coloured skin, lank black hair, and straight noses, and are frequently remarkable for their supple yet sturdy figures. The aborigines of Formosa belong to this race, and here the shape of the features generally is frequently remarkably unlike that of the Mongolians. They are heathens, with a most inchoate idea of religion, and distinguished in most of their habitats as "head-hunters." Only one branch, so far as known, has a written language, and this may be partly due to foreign influence. The Battaks, the branch referred to, present the extraordinary anomaly of people sufficiently civilised to have a written language,

INDONESIAN TYPE: DYAK HEAD-HUNTER

to practise weaving and working in metals, who are still, or were at the time of their discovery, anthropophagous.

The fourth period was that of Malayan expansion, the Malayan branch of the Mongol family having evolved by fusion of the Mongol and the former inhabitants of Southern Asia, and having presumably acquired its distinct characteristics by a sojourn in some particular district. The typical Malayan is characterised by a somewhat slight frame with delicate extremities, a copper-coloured skin, lank black hair, short nose, slightly oblique eyes, and a mouth which, though prominent and usually everted, is never fleshy like the negro's. Where was the cradle of the Malayan is a question which has never yet received a satisfactory answer. Many witnesses incline to the island of Sumatra, in which case it must be supposed that the founders of the race spread there from the continent, and thence gradually to adjacent islands, beginning, no doubt, with Java. Although the Malay language possesses several forms of writing, many of extreme antiquity, it has no literature of historic value, and despite many supposed derivations, the word "Malay,"[1] or properly "malayu," remains a mystery. It is only used by the people themselves in conjunction with a noun — *orang-malayu* (Malay man), *tauch-malayu* (Malay land). From Sumatra to Java was but a step, and in that island the Malays developed and acquired a civilisation higher than that

[1] Professor Keane points out that "Malay" can only with accuracy be applied to the natives of the Peninsula and parts of Sumatra. The Javanese, Filipinos, etc., are separate branches of the same family, and are therefore "Malayans." The distinction, however, need not be preserved in this book.

OCEANIC-CAUCASIAN OR POLYNESIAN TYPE: GIRL FROM TAHITI

attained by any other branch of their race. The first mention of the name Malay occurs in Ptolemy, writing about 130 A.D. He repeats information probably derived from Hindoo traders as to a country called "Malay-kolon," a name probably given by some sea-faring Malay in conversation with the Hindoos, and implying simply his (Malay) country—either the peninsula, Sumatra, or some other island. The fact that in this century the clove, found only in the Moluccas, makes its appearance among the imports of Rome, shows that Hindoo or Arab traders had penetrated to those islands; and in doing so they must have come into contact with some of the sea-faring Malays, but it is supposed that even prior to this traders must have come to the Malayan countries for tin, and probably for tortoise-shell. About the fifth century also began a very important migration. The persecutions of the Brahmins drove a number of Buddhists from their native land, and these descended on the nearest and most fertile of the Indian Isles, the west coast of Sumatra and Java, where they obtained a firm hold. It is not certain at what period the Malay emigrations began. In determining this question the evidence of language is hardly sufficient. The proportion of Sanscrit words decreases proportionately with the distance from Java, but that might be due to other influences, since in Sumatra, Java, and the Peninsula alone does the Malay exist as a member of a preponderating race; elsewhere

MALAY TYPE: FROM THE MALAY PENINSULA

he is merely a sojourner dwelling on the coast, having driven the aborigines inland. In the Philippines especially his blood has been mingled with that of the aborigines, Indonesians, Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans, and his language has lost in purity proportionately, so that it is impossible to say whether the small number of Sanscrit words may not have been introduced later. Religious customs give little clue since Mohammedanism and Christianity practically divide Malaysia, but from other evidences the Philippines appear to have been colonised by a very early Malayan wave.

MALAYAN TYPE: FROM JAVA

At this period there is a blank of many centuries, broken only by a vague reference to Java in Chinese chronicles. During these centuries the Malays seem to have split into three races. Firstly, a semi-savage and wandering tribe now found only on the Peninsula and in parts of Sumatra; secondly, a sea-going race called "sea-gipsies," who spread all over the archipelago, became notable pirates, and dividing into many tribes became known by various names — Bugis in Celebes, Bajaus in Borneo, and so forth; thirdly, the civilised and settled Malays who became husbandmen and fishermen, founded kingdoms, evolved several written languages, and acquired a far from contemptible amount of civilisa-

tion. The Javanese, absorbing first the religion and culture brought by the Hindoos, rose to power, went over to Sumatra, where they founded the city of Palembang, and from that place colonised the kingdom of Menangkabo, situated in the most beautiful and fertile part of Sumatra. From this kingdom the traditions of many Malay tribes declare their ancestors to have come. At the zenith of Hindoo ascendancy, about the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or a little earlier, were built those marvellous temples with which Java and Sumatra are studded. Ruins of a similar nature are to be seen in Borneo, but the word "ruins" by no means describes those of the two Dutch Indian Isles, for while the temples are sometimes far from complete there are hundreds of carvings in a wonderful state of preservation, and executed with a skill and unconventionality which make them at times startlingly lifelike. They are obviously the work of Hindoo artists and represent characteristically Hindoo types, while the *motif* is always, of course, the history and worship of Buddha; nevertheless, they portray men and women such as are seen to-day in the streets and bazaars of India. They play on well-known instruments, they dance weird dances, twisting the arms and turning the hands back, they ride elephants, they wave palm-leaf fans, they sit cross-legged (not on their heels like the Mongol and his cousin the Malay), and finally they are seen braving stormy waters in wonderfully constructed ships, which we may take to be exactly those in which communication was carried on between Hindustan and the Eastern Archipelago at a period when Great Britain was at the very beginning of her career as a Sea Power.

From Java, or from Javanese settlements, came the founders of Singapore and Malacca; tradition assigns the middle of the twelfth century to the latter, but the Portuguese, who visited it first in 1508, say that it had then been established only about 250 years.

The Hindoo dominion in Java lasted till the fifteenth century, though it began to decline before that. The stimulus given to Arab traders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Crusades took them further and further afield, and as they had established a trade with China as early as 850 A.D. there is no doubt that by the thirteenth century they were well acquainted with the islands of the Western Pacific. Their religious campaign was not of a missionary character, so far as can be ascertained, but arose out of the fact that many Mohammedan merchants, Arabian and Persian, settled in the archipelago, intermarried with the natives, and gradually spread their religion. The date given for the adoption of Islam by the Achinese is 1206, but it was not till 1478 on the downfall of Majahpahit, the last Hindoo kingdom in Java, that the religion of the Prophet became virtually that of the whole civilised Malay race. It crept upwards and outwards by slow degrees, and reached the island of Mindanao in the Philippines just before the arrival of Christian priests on the same scene in the first part of the sixteenth century. Against Islam it seems as though no other faith can make way in Oriental lands, and despite the very rapid conversion to Christianity of all the other islands of the Philippines the south of Mindanao to this day contains followers of the Prophet, while the Sulu Archipelago is almost entirely Mohammedan. Throughout the Malay Archipelago, however, Mohammedanism is of the easiest type

and the people retain many old heathen customs, while in Java it is not uncommon, despite the fact that Buddhism has been dead for 400 years, to find little votive offerings on the shrines of the ruined temples.

We now reach the period when authentic history takes the place of legend and induction. It seems strange that so many centuries should have elapsed without any further development after the introduction of the clove into Rome, which proves a certain intercourse between Europe and these Indian Isles, and almost more strange that the Chinese should never have ventured there in search of trade. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, however, they certainly visited the Moluccas, and from that time onwards their intercourse must have been fairly regular. As they are not a warlike people they never went abroad except to countries where a certain amount of peace and settled government gave opportunities for trading, and wherever they traded they showed a tendency to settle and intermarry with the natives, without losing in any way their national peculiarities or strong feeling for their mother country. The first European to visit the Far East was the redoubtable Marco Polo, in 1291, and from remarks made by him it seems that the Chinese were then still ignorant of the Malay Archipelago. He himself gives a description of Sumatra and Java, evidently more from hearsay than knowledge. During a voyage with a Chinese fleet from China to Europe he was obliged by the monsoons to stay five months in the former island, and he declares that he visited various districts, but it seems likely from internal evidence that his movements were circumscribed by the savagery of the natives, and that his account of the island was taken from the Arabians who doubtless accompanied his fleet as pilots.

Java, as mentioned by him, is merely a name given to the whole archipelago, and Sumatra he calls Java minor. He mentions Malacca as an island town, with a flourishing trade.

Two hundred years later, soon after the discovery of the Cape route, the Portuguese, having already established themselves in Goa, and hearing of the great trade done in Malacca, fitted out a fleet to visit it. They were unfortunate in their dealings with the natives, and were driven away, returning, however, in two years time, and capturing the city after a determined resistance. This was in 1511. They had already heard much of both Java and Sumatra, for the traveller Ludovic Varthema visited those islands in 1500 and also the Moluccas, and gives a pretty faithful description of them. At the time of the first visit to Malacca one of the expedition, Magellan, landed in Sumatra with Lopez de Sequiera, and concluded a treaty with the Rajah, while Sequiera apparently went on and visited the Moluccas. From this time onward the Portuguese constantly sought to obtain a footing in Sumatra, but without success, and an expedition was also sent in 1511 to take possession of the Spice Islands. This expedition only got as far as Amboina, and as the clove had been introduced there that island was annexed, but it was not till 1521 that the real Spice Islands were taken by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese Magellan appears to have been discontented with the reward given for his services, and also to have failed in obtaining the support of the King for his project of sailing round the world. Accordingly he offered his services to Charles V. of Spain, and Portugal lost the honour which his subsequent achievements would have added to her history. In August 1519 he

left Seville, and, sailing westwards, discovered the straits which bear his name, and on March 6, 1521, sighted the Ladrones. A few months later he entered the harbour of Cebu, and was shortly afterwards killed in an affray with the natives. In his company were Barbosa, who had previously visited and described many of the Eastern islands, and Pigafetti, an Italian. The former was murdered by the natives of Cebu, the latter continued the voyage and visited Borneo, or rather the State of Brunei, then paramount in the island, which, he says, had reached an advanced state of civilisation and prosperity. The inhabitants of the Philippines at this era are described as also possessing a certain amount of civilisation, using written characters and working iron and gold. They appear to have been easy converts to Christianity, since the inhabitants of Cebu were all converted within eight days! A wooden cross still standing at Cebu as a commemoration of this missionary *coup* is said to be the original one planted by Magellan.

A great stimulus was naturally given by the discoveries of Magellan to further explorations in the Pacific. In 1526 New Guinea was first sighted, but, though coasted and described on the north, in the years 1528 and 1546, by two other explorers who gave it its two names, Papua and New Guinea, it remained for half a century more a *terra incognita*, being regarded as part of a great continent. The discoverer of New Guinea, Jorge de Maneses, also visited Borneo, and the Portuguese began to trade with that island. In 1565 one of the greatest events in the history of the Pacific took place, for Legaspi landed in Luzon, and within six years conquered the whole archipelago, a feat in which he was largely assisted by the Augustinian fathers.

Although there are no details regarding its discovery, it is certain that during this century Australia became known, being represented on a French map under the name *Australis terra* and described in a Dutch book.

In 1595 the Dutch arrived on the scene, and landing, first in Java and then in Sumatra, began to trade. A few years later they penetrated to Celebes, and in 1602 the Dutch East India Company was founded and began to establish factories and settlements in all the islands.

In 1600 the English appeared, and thus four European nations were competing in the Malay Archipelago. Six years later the Spaniard Torres discovered that New Guinea was an island, and took possession in the name of Spain. The Dutch were only a little way behind, and in the same year visited the coasts and the adjacent islands, and gave many names which still remain. In the same year the Society Islands were discovered by Spain, and a Spanish settlement was planted in the New Hebrides, on the island called Espiritu Santa. In 1610 the Dutch made their first bid for Colonial possession by building a fort where Batavia now stands, and, although destroyed by the natives with the assistance of the English, this was the beginning of the Dutch dominion in the East. From that time they were continually at war with the native states, and in 1677 acquired Jacatra, after which they went on steadily, till by 1830, after five great wars and many small ones, they were in undisputed possession of Java.

The Portuguese lost ground slowly but surely. Tidor and Ternate, belonging to the Molucca group, were taken by Spain in 1606, while the Dutch soon after concluded a treaty which practically gave them a monopoly of the trade in cloves. In 1641, after more than one

attempt, they captured Malacca, and in 1681 the Moluccas finally became the property of Holland. Twenty years before this the celebrated Admiral Van Dam had ejected the Portuguese from the Celebes, so that the end of the seventeenth century saw Portugal the pioneer of Europe in the Eastern seas, reduced to one small settlement on the island of Timor, where they remain to this day, their principal town being known as Deli, and described by recent travellers as miserable and decayed. This settlement would probably have been abandoned long since were it not for a certain trade with the other remnant of Portuguese possessions on the mainland of China, — Macao. It cannot be said of the Dutch, however, that they always acted the part of cuckoos in the East, for in 1642 and 1644, under the auspices of Van Dieman, the governor-general of Java, Abel Tasman performed two voyages in which he discovered Van Dieman's land and Tasmania, the Friendly Isles, and New Zealand. The Dutch also penetrated to Formosa, where they established a flourishing colony in 1624, but were expelled by the pirate Koxinga some thirty-six years later.

An amusing incident occurred in the early part of the seventeenth century, when an English embassy from James I. came to the King of Achin, in Sumatra. The ambassador describes with much admiration the wealth and power of this monarch, and reports his request for two English women to be sent out as wives, with the remark that if they had children it would be a great advantage to British traders coming to that country. In 1685 the British established a factory at Benkulen, in Sumatra, and they also began to trade with Borneo.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw them expelled from Banjermassin, which had been their principal port of call in Borneo, and it was not till twenty-six years later, in 1733, that European traders were able to return. In that year the Dutch came back, and fifty years later obtained possession of Banjermassin and finally of all South Borneo.

During the eighteenth century many discoverers came on the scenes. Captain Cook, in several voyages between the years 1769 and 1775, discovered and named many of the island groups and the east coast of Australia, where he hoisted the British flag, and finally lost his life in the Sandwich Isles.

The story of the Pacific Islands now resolves itself into a struggle between Britain and Holland for the Malay Archipelago, while Spain remained in undisputed possession of the Philippines. The growing commercial power of Britain in the East made her a formidable rival, though Holland in territorial acquisition had a start of 120 years and was already established in Java, Borneo, the Moluccas, Celebes, and numerous other islands of less importance. Both countries, it must be noted, worked their way to Colonial empire by means of chartered companies, the British East India Company being modelled on the Dutch, and chartered two years later than its prototype. The Dutch East India Company, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, had founded a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, used by their ships as a place of call and refreshment on their way to the East Indies. This settlement suffered a good deal from the mismanagement and corruption which seem to have crept into the Company's administration, and the same causes weakened the hands

of Holland in the East. In 1780 Great Britain, on the discovery that Holland had been furnishing aid to the rebellious colonists in North America, declared war with her, and attacks were at once made on the coveted islands of the East, which the Dutch East India Company, then in a state of collapse, were unable to repel. As for Holland, or the United Netherlands as she was called, she was herself torn by internal dissensions. The Republican armies of France overran the country, the Stadtholder fled to England, and the Republic of Batavia was constructed out of the *débris*. To avoid the loss of all their possessions in the East the Batavian Republic bought out the moribund East India Company, but Java, the Spice Islands, Celebes, and other Dutch possessions had already passed into the hands of Britain.

The first and only British Governor of Java was Stamford Raffles, a man who had worked his way from the position of a clerk in the East India House to be deputy secretary in the island of Penang, where, through the friendship of Dr. Leyden, he became thoroughly conversant with the Malay character and language. This knowledge led to his appointment as secretary to an expedition to Java, and eventually to his becoming Lieutenant-Governor. A man of unbounded activity and great ability, he instituted great reforms in Java, but was not altogether successful and was recalled after four years. In 1819 he was responsible for the foundation of Singapore, which at that time was a forest-covered island with merely a village of Malay fishermen, the concession being obtained from the Sultan of Johore. The dominion of England in the Dutch East Indies was merely a temporary affair, and the result of a long chain of events made inevitable by the Napoleonic wars.

The Batavian Republic was entirely under the thumb of France, and France and England were at death grips with each other. The Battle of Waterloo, in 1815, gave the quietus to the power of Napoleon, and in the general settling up which followed the Dutch received back their East Indian Empire, while the English were assured in their possession of the Cape and certain South American colonies on the payment of six million sterling. In 1824 the town of Malacca was exchanged for Benkulen, in Sumatra, where the English had been long established.

This readjustment left unappropriated a number of the Pacific Islands already known, but an important agency was brought to bear in the latter part of the eighteenth century in the form of missionary and exploring expeditions. Catholicism had been active for two centuries in the Philippines, but it is chiefly to Protestantism that the earliest conversions among the more remote islands are due; and since that time the work has been actively pursued by English, French, and American missions of all denominations, until of the great island groups of the Pacific eight speak the English language more or less, are instructed in the Christian religion, and live under the influence of white priests or their native subordinates. Besides these groups, of which six are now annexed by Great Britain and two are under the protection of the United States and Germany, there are many smaller and more isolated islands where English-speaking missionaries practically rule supreme. All these islands with the exception of Fiji belong to the Polynesian group and are inhabited by that fair, tall, intelligent race supposed to be of Caucasian stock. They are modified by exigencies of existence and by

intermarriage with various races, Papuan, Malay, and in some cases South American, for some of their islands were undoubtedly visited by the galleons which for centuries plied between Mexico, Peru, and Manila, besides private craft from the South American coast.

The beginning of the nineteenth century, which saw the return to Holland of the Dutch colonies, witnessed also the beginning of that activity in exploring the coasts of Australia and New Zealand of which the story is told later on. Notable dates, too, are those of the founding of Singapore in 1819, the cession of the island of Hong Kong in 1843, the appointment of Sir James Brooke as Rajah of Sarawak in 1841, the acquisition of Labuan as a Crown colony in 1846, and the protection practically extended over the Malay States since 1871. In the early eighties came the rush for colonies by the Great Powers, who suddenly awoke to the fact that very little of the world remained to be appropriated. Germany flung herself into the arena and acquired in the Pacific the northeastern portion of New Guinea, the Carolines, Bismarck Archipelago, and part of the Samoan group. France had already taken New Caledonia, as a reprisal for the murder there of a survey party. She had also acquired the Loyalty Islands, the Austral group, the Marquesas and Society Islands, the last including the beautiful Tahiti. Alarmed by these continual expansions the Australian colonists insisted that Great Britain should occupy the southeastern part of New Guinea, on the west coast of which Holland had established herself half a century before. Fiji was originally colonised from Norfolk Island, but taken over as a Crown colony in 1874. Other groups under British protection are the Union, Ellice, Hervey, and Tonga Islands in Polynesia; the

Gilbert in Micronesia, and several isolated islands. These were all annexed between the years 1870–1892. In 1882 the British North Borneo Company took over the north of that island, and Labuan was handed over to it in 1889, while Brunei and Sarawak were also placed under British protection.

There is only one more change in the political geography of the Pacific to be recorded in order to bring the history up to date. The United States took their first step towards the East by annexing Hawaii and occupying Samoa in 1898. In 1896 the Filipinos in their scattered archipelago rose against the friars, who were practically governing them in the name of Spain. The movement gathered strength, and the conflict continued until, with the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and America over the Cuban question, a third factor appeared on the scene. At first the Filipinos regarded the United States as a deliverer, but on discovering that there was no intention to quit the islands as soon as Spain was disposed of, the Filipinos organised another insurrection, which has taken over three years to subdue, and is hardly over at the time of writing.

In this brief sketch of what may be termed the evolution of the Pacific it has been impossible to include any account of the American littoral, or of the evolution of Australasia, Japan, or Formosa. A description of these, however, will be found in other parts of the book.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PACIFIC

THE GOLDEN GATE, SAN FRANCISCO

CHAPTER II

THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

The expansion of the United States is no new thing. It began within twenty years of the birth of the Republic, and from an area of 827,844 square miles in 1782, on the conclusion of peace between the colonies and the mother country, it has increased to close on 3,600,000 square miles. This enormous expansion has been carried out at regular intervals. First came the largest of all her acquisitions of territory, the purchase from France of Louisiana, in 1803, with which territory was acquired Oregon (which then included the present Oregon and Washington, as well as other neighbouring territories). Thus the United States was carried to the Pacific, and directly and indirectly its original area more than doubled. The purchase of Florida from Spain followed in 1821, bringing the United States to the Gulf of Mexico. Texas joined the United States in 1845, and three years later the first Mexican cession was carried out, which among other territories included California, again bringing the United States to the Pacific and making a total coast length of fifteen hundred miles. Five

years later followed the Gadsden purchase from Mexico, now comprising New Mexico and the southern part of Arizona, and lastly, Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867.

So far the expansion of the United States was entirely on land, and moreover it was always to contiguous territories, sparsely peopled, frequently almost empty, and always with a temperate climate. For more than a hundred years, since the birth of the nation in fact, the energies of the people had been fully engaged in mastering the resources of their vast country, in spreading agriculture, opening mines, laying down communications, settling vast areas bit by bit, and educating the people. Americans had got to believe that they could continue, as they had begun, to live self-contained on their continent, and it never entered into their imaginings that one day they might feel impelled to make a new departure. The country, however, gradually filled up, manufactures grew, and the trading classes looked more and more to foreign markets. It became apparent that openings must be sought abroad, and under these circumstances Hawaii was secured, then Samoa, and finally occurred the Spanish-American war, when Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines were occupied in 1898. The world then learned that the United States had embarked on a career of over-sea expansion, and that her foreign policy had suddenly changed. The change, however, was not so sudden as it seemed, and had been foreseen to be inevitable by a few onlookers, for with the pressure at home for new markets expansion abroad was certain to follow as a process of nature, and the Spanish-American war was but the final act, the culmination, of a drama which had been enacting since the commencement of

the national existence. The proximity of the Spanish sovereignty in America had been a source of constant irritation to the United States, interfering especially with her commercial development. The two systems were incompatible in such near neighbourhood, and the war was but the inevitable end of a century of friction and antagonism, the occupation of the Philippines being merely a more or less unexpected incident of that rivalry.

The United States as a nation are now beginning to realise that they are a world power, that they possess many thousand miles of sea-coast (exclusive of bays and sounds) and unlimited capacity for the creation of sea power, and that they have a deep interest in oceanic expansion. Foreign trade and foreign affairs have for the first time acquired dramatic interest for the people. The United States, divided so long between two schools, the Anti-Expansionist and Expansionist, are now in the main agreed at least that whether occupation of the Philippines could have been avoided or not is a question which it now serves no useful purpose to discuss. Once there it is impossible to retire, and the United States, established in the Philippines, with stepping-stones across the Pacific at Hawaii, Samoa, and Guam, has been brought at one step into the vortex of Asiatic-Pacific rivalries, and must perforce play her part. What that part is likely to be will be indicated later on. For the present it is enough to note that the presence of the United States in the Pacific, close to China, Japan, Russia, the Dutch East Indies, and Australasia, brings a new factor to bear upon the question of the Pacific, with which the future of Further Asia is so closely allied — the world-problem of the twentieth century.

Regarding the Pacific Ocean as the new theatre in

which the world drama is to centre we are at once struck with the dissimilarity of its continental boundaries on east and west. The Asiatic coast is fringed with islands, many of great size, and that half of the ocean is thickly studded with small archipelagoes, the coast-line is much indented, and huge rivers empty themselves into almost enclosed seas. The Asiatic coast and islands are fertile, richly vegetated, and, despite the difference in latitude between the most northerly and the most southern, there is a strong family likeness in the physical characteristics both of the countries and their people. When we reach the Australian continent, however, all this is changed, and when, with a mental stride, we cross the great ocean named "the Peaceful" by the old explorer Magellan, we find on its American side totally different features, both geographical and racial. A series of mountain chains runs from north to south of the great twin continents of America, and on the northern one, with which we are chiefly concerned, the coast rises abruptly, often to sheer heights, and frowns down on a smooth, little-indented coast-line. There are consequently few harbours, San Francisco and Puget Sound being the only really deep and sheltered ones in United States territory on a coast of about 1500 miles length, but further north, in British Columbia, there are several others, both large and good. Owing to the close proximity of the watershed to the ocean the rivers are few and comparatively insignificant, with the exception of the Yukon in Alaska, which is, however, of little practical use owing to climatic conditions. There are no islands on the United States coast, and the mass of small archipelagoes with which the Asiatic half of the Pacific is gemmed get fewer and fewer, until a broad

belt of absolutely desert ocean is left between them and the American coast. Here again, however, Canada is more favoured, and islands of great extent, notably Vancouver, fringe her coasts, which are, moreover, broken into deep bays, *fjords*, and land-locked harbours. The one peculiarity of the American coast is the long narrow spit of land running south which is known as Lower California. The Pacific slope of the United States is divided into the States of California, Oregon, and Washington. British Columbia will be treated of elsewhere, and Alaska, the extreme northern territory, is outside the scope of present considerations. Owing to physical and political conditions the rest of the American States with Pacific coasts may be regarded as a *quantité négligeable*, but there remains one important point, the proposed cutting of that thin neck of land which unites the Americas; a measure which would largely discount the natural features we have been examining, features which have undoubtedly done much to isolate the Pacific. It is well known that only the discovery of gold drew men across the Great Divide or by way of the isthmus, and induced them to flock to countries so remote as were those on the Pacific slope before improved communications by land and sea linked them east and west with older communities. The golden magnet which has drawn men in thousands to and fro on the face of the earth — to California, to South Africa, to Australia — has, however, been the instrument of inducing a less temporary settlement. Without gold the West, as Americans term it, might be still unoccupied. Every reader of Bret Harte knows the story of California's early days; the mushroom towns, the reign of the six-shooter, the lavish expenditure, the currency of gold-dust, the violence,

the lawlessness, and withal the romance of a heroic age, when men played with their lives for enormous stakes, and primitive virtues shone more brightly in contrast with primitive passions. *Nous avons changé tout cela*, but a flavour of Bret Harte still hangs round the beautiful West, and as the traveller enters the Golden Gate, so appropriately named, and sees for the first time beautiful, splendid, wicked San Francisco — the most paradoxical city in a land of contrasts — he feels at once that in the Orient he has left behind the repose and fatalism of the Pacific and her islands, and is face to face with a new spirit and a new world. The dominant note of Americanism is its keen receptivity, and as one makes one's first observations in the great city of the Pacific slope it is this which arrests our attention, for we find that this young city, in a young State, the offshoot of a young nation, has swept together not only men of all nations, but their ideas and methods, and adapting them to her own use has produced a splendid, if heterogeneous, whole.

Outside the gold-mines, California, to English ears, usually suggests two ideas — canned (or as we call it "tinned") fruit, and consumptive patients. This is perhaps a little unfair to a country which sends us wheat, wine, and tinned salmon, which exports timber to South Africa, and supplies a great portion of the Asiatic and the European world with fruit. California, indeed, is one of the larders of the world, as well as one of its sanatoria, and must certainly benefit largely by the opening of new markets in the Pacific and the increase of oversea traffic. One great need hitherto has been fuel for steamers, and this will be partially met by an increase in the oil production, while the lack of water will be

A CALIFORNIAN CITY

remedied by utilisation of the drainage of watersheds and the application of new methods of electricity. A consequent improvement in mining results is therefore hoped for. All these improvements were highly necessary, for like all districts suddenly populated by a gold rush California showed a tendency to "slump" when fresh fields attracted her population elsewhere; but she has other resources besides her minerals, to which, as has already been said, recent developments will act as a stimulus. A pressing necessity is that of a general system of irrigation, especially in the south of California, where continued droughts, followed by sudden storms, play havoc with the crops, and in the heavily timbered regions further north more care should be bestowed on forestry, which receives so much attention in Europe and notably in India. The enormous area of the State (one-fourth larger than that of the United Kingdom) and its extended position are great difficulties, especially when we remember that its actual population is only 1,500,000, of which San Francisco contains some 350,000.

This subject of population brings us face to face for the first time with one of the greatest problems we have to discuss in this book, and it was actually in San Francisco that the question first appeared. The white man has taken up his position in certain countries bordering the Pacific. The United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia — these he found sparsely populated, and has made his own in word and fact, while in the Malay Archipelago and the smaller Pacific islands he has established his paramountcy over more or less yielding races. From Asia, however, comes a swarm of yellow men. At first they are useful — they help to build the railroads,

work the mines and generally develop the land — but by degrees they become undesirable citizens in more ways than one, and it is impossible to get rid of them. How to do without the Chinaman is therefore a problem which will crop up constantly in these pages under varying conditions, and indirectly it involves the whole vexed question of alien immigration, which is becoming of vital and pressing importance in view of the surplus population in some parts of the world, and the growing tendency among new communities to close their doors. On every side we hear the same cry: "America for the Americans!" "A White Australia!" "Africa for the Afrikander!" and we are constrained to wonder uncomfortably why the Orientals, against whom these edicts are chiefly framed, should not reply with "China for the Chinese!" (as they certainly would if they could), or "Japan for the Japanese!" (as they probably will). The paradox is that, simultaneously with this passion for exclusion, the Anglo-Saxon is bent on breaking down all barriers, in sweeping before him all obstructions, until the whole Pacific is free and open to his trade, and the ships of the world are plying busily all over the long silent ocean.

At present, so far as the United States are concerned, Chinese immigration has been effectively checked, and along the whole Pacific slope will be by degrees more and more restricted; under these conditions the Chinese may continue to be a useful element and will not seriously menace the livelihood of the white man. With the Japanese, however, who have of late shown a distinct tendency to migrate, and are largely employed in fruit-picking in California, it is a different matter. China cannot at present retaliate; Japan can and doubtless will.

Little can be said here of the two other States on the Pacific slope, Oregon and Washington, save that they exhibit the go-ahead methods of the Americans in fullest development. Washington, especially, is a contrast in this particular to its neighbour, British Columbia, and is increasing rapidly in wealth and population. It possesses a valuable asset in the harbour of Puget Sound, perhaps the most beautiful sheet of salt water in the world. So sheer is the coast of this almost inland sea that in some places vessels can tie up to trees on the banks. Seattle, the chief port, is a serious rival to Vancouver. Both here and at Tacomah are busy ship-building yards, and with the increase of that industry here and at San Francisco, the United States will probably become a formidable rival to Britain and Japan in the construction of vessels for the purposes of warfare as well as commerce.

Intimate connection by rail and steamer with the outer world is, of course, the first necessity for prosperity, and it is obvious that San Francisco is pre-eminently convenient for both of these, and will probably become one of the greatest cities of the world. The recent increase of shipping both in size and number is noticeable, and San Francisco is now connected by direct lines and frequent sailings with Sydney, Yokohama, Hong Kong, Hamburg (*viâ* Central and South America), and through Honolulu with all the various island groups of the Pacific. Soon, no doubt, a line will run direct to Manila, to avoid the present trans-shipment at Hong Kong, while the cable connects it with Honolulu and is to be extended to Manila and thence to Asia.

Such, in brief outline, are the resources and prospects of the Pacific slope of the United States. Of its physical features little has been said, because every one knows

that California is a show place for scenery — the Yosemite Valley coming only next in reputation to the Niagara Falls, while the snowy cones of Mount Shasta and the valleys of the coast ranges have both their charm. Washington, with its moist climate and forests of Oregon pine and fir, is reminiscent of Scotland in more ways than one, and of the beauties of Puget Sound something has already been said. We are practically concerned only with the actual coast lands of the Pacific, so must not cross the great divide, but following the coast line southwards must pause for a moment at the point where for so many centuries the skill of man has been baffled in cutting a channel from ocean to ocean.

It is only in comparatively modern times that geographers of the western hemisphere brought themselves to believe that no such channel naturally existed. Many explorers were sent to look for it, and several found and described it circumstantially, receiving, it is to be presumed, a handsome reward with which, if wise, they straightway disappeared. There have been naturally many schemes for cutting a waterway from east to west, and these, of course, centre in the isthmus of Panama, which at its narrowest point measures only some thirty-five miles from ocean to ocean. By a process of elimination three schemes at last were left — the rival canal-routes of Panama and Nicaragua, and the Tehuantepec ship railway. Of the last, it need only be said that although it was deemed practicable by many experts it has never been carried through, and is now almost forgotten. The rival merits of the two canals are still occupying the attention of the United States Government, and opinion wavers from one to the other. The

difficulties to be encountered are threefold — physical, financial, and political — chiefly the latter, for the apparently easy matter of cutting a canal at either Panama or Nicaragua is complicated less by engineering difficulties than by the number of vested interests in the United States which have to be considered. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which has so long stood in the way, is abrogated under the new treaty, according to which the canal is to be neutral and under the sole guarantee of the United States. Some years ago the writer made a study on the spot of the conditions of the two routes, and published his conclusions in a book called "The Key of the Pacific." Briefly, they were in favour of the Nicaragua route, both because the engineering difficulties, though great, were of a kind to be overcome once for all and not subject to recurrence through floods or heavy rains, and also on account of the political conditions of the State through which the canal would pass. These conclusions have since been repeated by a commission which reported in 1900, and it is added that, although the Nicaragua route will be longer and more expensive than the Panama, it will have compensating advantages. There is, however, something to be said for the latter scheme, but the French company who hold the concession do not seem inclined to part with their rights except at a prohibitive figure.

To leave this vexed question, and to come to the main point: A trans-isthmian canal is one of the pressing necessities of the age, but it is primarily an American affair, and therefore need not be regarded with jealousy by the old world. As was pointed out, —

> The canal will complete a perfect equatorial belt of navigation round the world, through the gateways of Suez and Nicaragua (or Panama).

No greater impulse to commerce can be given than this complement to the Suez Canal.

It will benefit America in an infinitely greater degree than Europe, which will only use the canal in trading with the Pacific littoral of the two Americas, the South Sea Islands, and possibly New Zealand. It will bring Japan, Northern China, Australasia, and part of Malaysia nearer to the Atlantic cities of the United States than they are now to England. It will divert little or no traffic from the Suez Canal. It will give an immense impetus to United States manufactures, especially cotton and iron, and will greatly stimulate the ship-building industry and the development of the naval power of the United States.

Against these arguments we have the opinions of a large body of people in the United States and Canada. The majority of these are biassed by their connection with one or other of the trans-Continental railways, whose interests they think would suffer by opening a sea route from ocean to ocean. To again quote the same work:

These lines have been the main instruments in the marvellous development of the Pacific slope; they have also, however, extracted unreasonable rewards from the producers of the Pacific slope, indirectly rack-renting that territory as few estates in Ireland have been rack-rented, and have throughout shown the keenest jealousy of any schemes likely to interfere with their monopolies. Their fears are in reality futile, for the canal would not only bring about cheap freight rates, of immense service to the community at large, but would also conduce to increased business and larger incomes for the railway lines themselves. It would, there can be no doubt, help greatly to create on the whole Pacific slope, as far east as the Rockies, a field of business, a new market, yielding profits transcending all those now derived from trans-Continental carriage."

One of the greatest drawbacks to the Western States of America — a drawback which has fatal effects in crushing individual effort, is the expense and difficulty with which produce is conveyed to the great markets of the world. The railway trusts have the whole carrying business in their hands, and the effect has been to check the desirable immigration and settlement of a

working agricultural class, and to limit the operations of the farmer, who is only able to make a bare living out of the land. Such conditions are the inevitable result of imperfect communications in the hands of a monopoly, and the first step towards remedying the evil will be the opening of a trans-isthmian canal. As for the international aspect of that step, the writer has always held that the improvement of communications all over the world can only be beneficial to the larger proportion of the human race. The same unreasonable timidity and selfish obstruction which has stood in the way of this canal has blocked the path of every new measure, and there were plenty of people to predict complete failure and then evil consequences to Europe from the cutting of the Suez Canal. The more canals and railways there are, the more will merchandise be moved, and the more will people travel. We in Britain all know that our grandfathers seldom ventured beyond certain not too distant towns in their own little island, or if they ever visited the Continent were contented once in a lifetime to do the "grand tour." How could they foresee the restlessness of the present age when networks of rails have spread over Europe and extended into Asia, and busy trains are all day long full of travellers hastening from one place to another? They would have predicted early bankruptcy for those who multiplied such unnecessary means of locomotion — and yet we see that railway companies flourish and increase exceedingly. It is the same with ocean communication. We are as yet far off the time when supply will exceed demand, and if the long-dormant wealth of the Orient is to be exploited, every facility for bridging the distance from West to East must be utilised.

We have spoken of America's stepping-stones from West to East, and the first of these is Honolulu, in the beautiful islands of Hawaii. These islands were originally the home of one of the finest offshoots of that prehistoric Caucasian race called the Polynesian. The Kanakas, as they are called, are some of the most interesting of Pacific peoples, and the steady and rapid diminution of their numbers is greatly to be regretted. Since Honolulu first became a half-way house for vessels plying between East and West great changes have taken place. From the first the Hawaiians adopted eagerly the religion and customs brought by early missionaries and traders, and the influence gained by the former was extraordinary. These handsome, laughter-loving children of Nature suffered, however, in the too wholesale civilisation to which they were subjected, and their attempts to organise a civilised government met with complete failure. After many political squabbles among the native rulers and the various leaders of mixed nationality who obtained a following, the United States annexed the islands, which now form a "territory." The rights

HAWAIIAN MAN

of American citizens are extended to all whites, including Portuguese (of whom there are a number), all persons of African descent, and all descendants of the Hawaiian race, either on the maternal or paternal side, who were citizens of Hawaii immediately prior to the transfer of the sovereignty to the United States.

Chinese and Japanese (of whom there are actually over forty thousand in the islands) are therefore restricted as far as possible, but nevertheless they form a considerable proportion of the population. The former are the market gardeners of the island, and they and the Japanese are practically the only domestic servants, and are also largely employed on the plantations. Both Chinese and Japanese immigration is likely to be still more strictly restricted, and the attitude of Hawaiian officials in this matter, and the evident intention in all American ports to discriminate between the white man and the yellow — even when the latter is a highly civilised Japanese — are arousing much bitter feeling in Japan, and does not meet with the approval of the Chinese.

HAWAIIAN GIRL

The constant stream of European visitors passing

through Honolulu has made that town as western and modern as half a dozen others in the United States, but the scenery, with its blue background of volcanoes, its rich vegetation and brilliant flowers, is a never-failing delight, and the climate is singularly delightful and healthy. The traveller, tired of the monotonous sea journey, is too pleased to mind should an insidious voice whisper that the native dance, performed for his benefit, is now as little native as the performance of nautch girls at Calcutta or of geishas at Nagasaki, being merely arranged for the benefit of the globe-trotter; and he cares not a jot that the flowers, and even the trees, which delight his eyes are all imported. When he comes to pay the bill for his day's amusement, however, he will probably be less enthusiastic, for nothing is more American than the prices in Honolulu.

The principal industry in these favoured islands is the cultivation of sugar and rice. The former absorbs a great proportion of the trade, and is exported to the United States. Vegetables and fruit (with the exception of bananas) are curiously scarce, and tinned fruit from California is largely imported into Hawaii, as well as other Pacific islands — a curious state of affairs when we consider the climatic conditions. The labour difficulty is one of the chief drawbacks to the prosperity of Hawaii, for the Kanakas, who are, moreover, a decreasing race, cannot be induced to do coolie work in large numbers. They are of independent and somewhat indolent character, and prefer individual effort, unless they work under some of their own countrymen of rank. Attention is also needed in the forestry department, for the wholesale destruction of woods, especially on the island of Hawaii, has not only caused droughts, but

has reduced a large area to the condition of barren desert.

The long journey between San Francisco or other American ports, and Sydney or New Zealand, can be broken again in the Samoa Islands. This group is of great strategic importance, and in Pango-pango, on the island of Tutuila, the United States have secured a magnificent naval station, according to competent authorities the finest and safest harbour in the Pacific. It was only actively occupied in 1898, though the harbour was ceded to the States as early as 1872. It is only the two small islands of Tutuila and Manua that belong to the United States, the two larger ones of Savaii and Upolu being German. This division dates from 1899, when a treaty was concluded between the three Powers, Britain, Germany, and the United States who had hitherto guaranteed the independence of Samoa. Apia, the capital of the islands, is quite a European town, and the civilisation and Christianising of the natives is practically accomplished. At the same time there are no islands where native life and customs have been so little disturbed, for the paramount missionary influence was exerted so that the native should be Christianised but not Anglicised, and neither Germans nor Americans have done much to interfere with national life. Even to-day an intelligent and sympathetic visitor could (say in the west of Savaii) see the Samoan as he was a hundred years ago, and of his charms and virtues, as well as his weaknesses, all lovers of Robert Louis Stevenson have read and re-read, until the free, happy, gentle, flower-loving people seem familiar to him. The introduction of civilisation and commerce, however, had the usual effect on the Samoans; they assimilated quickly, but

were not able to cope with the more complicated state of affairs. The Tutuilans, in particular, long split into factions and without any organised rule, were torn by political dissensions. The intrigues of foreign adventurers added another discordant element, and it would be difficult to conceive a people more in need of a government than the Tutuilans when the United States flag was raised. Manua was in a better condition, hav-

PANGO-PANGO HARBOUR, SAMOA

ing worked out a scheme of its own for local and independent government, and under the new *régime* the natives of both islands are hopeful and content — a fact which says much for the naval officers who have accomplished the task of restoring law and order. The extensive expenditure in building wharves, coal-sheds, and Government offices at Pango-pango has given lucrative employment to a large number of natives, and there seems every prospect that this most beautiful and fertile

of all the Pacific groups will now prosper. The chief article of export is copra, the dried kernel of the cocoa-nut from which cocoa-nut oil is manufactured, but the importance of the islands really lies in their position as providing a first-class coaling and repairing station on the direct line of the great highway of commerce between San Francisco and Australia, and slightly south of the steamship line which will connect the Philippines with the proposed trans-isthmian canal.

The possibilities of trade expansion for the United States under the new conditions now in process of rapid evolution are much discussed, but the fundamental features are apt to be obscured in a mass of details and figures, for which there are no sufficient data. The employment of statistics in such a case is altogether misleading, and the solution, if any, is to be sought rather by the exercise of a certain amount of imagination guided by the light of past experience.

In the Asiatic-Pacific area, that is, countries bordering the Pacific or the islands, with which the United States are now brought into immediate contact, there are close on five hundred millions of people — six times the population of the United States and one-third that of the whole human race.[1] Of this enormous popu-

[1] Chinese Empire . . . . . about 320 millions
Manchuria and East Siberia . . . . . 10 "
Japan (including Formosa) . . . . . 43 "
Dutch East Indies . . . . . 35 "
British Borneo . . . . . 2 "
Indo-China . . . . . 22 "
Straits Settlements and Malay Peninsula . . . 2 "
Korea . . . . . 10 "
Siam . . . . . 5 "
Philippines . . . . . 8 "
Australasia and the Pacific Islands . . . . 5 "

lation, four hundred million belong to two Oriental nations, China and Japan; the former broken down, discredited, derelict, passing under the sway of various European Powers; the latter a highly organised and civilised country in the van of progress.

From many points of view the contrast between Japan and China is great, and not least in the conditions of their foreign trade.

The commercial and industrial development of Japan has been extraordinary since she entered on the path of progress, and especially since she began to utilise so thoroughly all the best elements of Western civilisation. *Inter alia* the trade of the United States in imports and exports with Japan has increased annually by leaps and bounds during the past ten years. The general foreign trade of Japan, with about one-seventh the population of China, is actually eight times as great, a fact eloquent as to the possibilities of trade expansion in China under the new conditions. In Japan the development has been accomplished by the Japanese themselves, almost without direct foreign aid, for there was at the first only the merest handful of Europeans to teach them. Their assimilation was accomplished by means of one of the greatest Intelligence agencies ever set in motion spread all over the world, utilising the knowledge of the West, and not ignoring that of the East. This great development, far from diminishing, is likely to increase more rapidly still should Japan decide to employ foreign capital in developing her resources. But the prospect of increasing trade depends largely on the political relations, for Japan is not likely to submit tamely to the treatment accorded her by the exclusion policy of the United States, no more than she is likely to endure it

from the offspring of Britain in the Pacific — Australasia and British Columbia.

The question of trade with China is a much debated one, but the answer chiefly depends on certain fundamental features, mainly whether China is a rich or a poor country, whether she is overpopulated or not, whether she will remain an independent Power or fall under European control. There are those who, arguing from the stand-still condition of China's trade, maintain that China is a poor country and that she is overpopulated. To both these views the writer has always taken exception. The general consensus of opinion, however, is that China is a land of vast possibilities in her soil, but the potentialities in her people are usually overlooked. The country as a whole is not overpopulated, though certain districts are, and the vast regions and mineral resources awaiting development, if only properly utilised, would employ the present redundant Chinese population for a long time to come.

The prospect of China's integrity being maintained — the wish being father to the thought — is a very slender one, for a great portion of that country is already parcelled out into so many spheres; spheres that are being consolidated slowly but surely, and always with feelers cast out, as in the case of Germany and the Yangtsze Valley, or pre-emption to provinces, as in the case of Japan. Under these circumstances it is useless to discuss the possibilities of China as it was a few years ago. We have to consider a China controlled in certain regions by various Powers, the still independent section of the country gradually diminishing in extent. Under these circumstances the Powers that have merely commercial ambitions, such as the United

States and Britain, have to face the problem of a Russian China, a German China, a French China, all under protectionist tariffs which must effectually put an end to any hope of the open door.

The vast resources of China, which her rulers have proved themselves hopelessly unfitted to utilise, are now to be developed by various Powers who will bring to bear on the task all the powers of organisation and capital which are commanded by the West. The chief articles of export — tea, silk, raw cotton, wool, hides, mats, and straw-braid — will doubtless be immensely increased by the opening of the country, and the development of the great mineral resources will bring a fresh factor into the existing fields of supply. In the major part of the chief imports — cotton goods, opium, rice, metal manufactures, and mineral oil — there seems little opening for the United States. Opium and rice she cannot supply; in cotton goods she cannot hope to supplant Britain and India; only in manufactures and oil is she likely to immediately increase rapidly. But under existing circumstances it is impossible to indicate the course of events, the exact extent of developments imminent or what direction they may take. Were China on the eve of a new departure on her own initiative, or under the guidance of Japan, it might be possible to foreshadow the future, which would be a repetition on a greater or lesser scale of the rise of Japan; but cut up by foreign Powers with diverging policies, and subject to outside influences, it is only possible to foresee the development of vast regions at the hands of Western Powers, with the application of all their gifts of organisation and each sphere a closed borough so far as possible. That the result will be an increase to American trade cannot be

doubted, but those who dwell on this forget that the blessing, such as it may be, will not be an unmixed one, for responsibilities will accompany this extension. A progressive European China may produce more business than a stand-still Chinese China, but it will be more troublesome. Whether the process can be carried out without serious disorders, without perhaps a conflagration such as the world has not yet known, remains to be seen. In any case, whatever the degree of development may be, slow or fast, shut spheres or partially open, it is clear that the United States, with her unrivalled resources, energy, and adaptability, will secure her share. Even if the railway and mining and other enterprises be kept in the hands of the Powers concerned, she must secure an important share; but the degree will depend largely on international relations, just as in the case of Japan. Her chief advantage will be an indirect one due to the stimulus given to trade generally.

It will be seen that the United States had substantial *pieds-à-terre* in the Pacific before the war with Spain and its attendant train of circumstances rushed her into the annexation of the Philippines. That step was one of such far-reaching consequences that the whole question must be treated at far greater length, but it is perhaps useful to state briefly the categories under which hitherto the United States has classed her dependencies, since much hangs on this vexed question of status.

The United States consists, as every schoolboy knows, of a federation of States under a President and Congress, elected by a manhood suffrage. The constitution was especially framed to ensure the rights of American citizenship to every one born under the Stars and Stripes. This was simple at first, though it involved later on the

admission to the franchise of a very large coloured vote, but when over-sea expansion began the question was at once complicated. The problem, briefly put, is how to govern dependencies, which, under the United States Constitution, should be as autonomous as the different States of the Federation. It was obviously impossible to create new States at once out of the countries annexed, whose peoples have not been educated or trained up to the standard of American citizenship. These have therefore been constituted as "territories," some still remaining in that status, while others have gradually become full-fledged States. The difference, broadly speaking, between States and territories is that the latter do not elect their own governors, secretaries, or judges, who are appointed by the President, and that although autonomous, any of their measures may be altered or vetoed by the Federal Government. Hawaii is such a "territory." Cuba, on the contrary, clamours for the full rights of a State, if not complete independence. To show the elasticity of the United States Constitution, or perhaps the liberality with which it is interpreted, we must add that Alaska is practically the same as a British Crown Colony, being even administered by a governor without the aid of any legislature. Constitutional difficulties, which hitherto have been settled by a little adjustment, have, however, assumed a more serious aspect during the recent developments. It is one thing to admit scattered communities of white, or nearly white, men into the rights of citizenship, keeping them for a time in leading-strings but always with the view of giving them an equal share in political responsibilities, but quite a different matter to act in the same way with a closely packed and numer-

ous brown people of Oriental origin and peculiar civilisation. The question presents difficulties in Cuba, where a far higher standard of political and social evolution has been reached, and even in Porto Rico, which is so near the United States mainland as to be easily influenced and controlled. The former will probably be created an independent State later on, while the latter, now under military rule, is to have representative Government with a restricted franchise, and later will be a territory; but neither system seems suitable for the remote and populous Philippines with their peculiar conditions. The United States are just undertaking a problem which Great Britain threshed out some time ago — how to govern dependencies. The dearly bought experience of the latter has convinced her of one thing: that no hard and fast rule can be laid down, but that racial, climatic, and other conditions must play their part. In countries unsuitable for white labour the European must direct and control — in other words government must be official — while in temperate climes every inducement must be given to white settlers and self-government granted at the first possible moment. No such problem, however, has ever presented itself to Great Britain or any other colonising Power as that which confronts the United States in the Philippines; for there conditions are complicated by the presence of a mixed race who can neither be treated as "natives" nor as Americans. The evil traditions of some three centuries of corrupt government hang over the islands, and the task is rendered twofold harder by the necessity for pulling down the edifice before building it up again. What the conditions are and how the United States are dealing with them will be told later, but it may be said here that with

characteristic self-confidence the Americans are practically setting on one side the accumulated experience of other colonising nations, and are determined to meet the new problems by a great and entirely novel experiment.

It is natural in a great Republic like the United States that the voice of the people should make itself loudly heard in all questions of national import, and as the organ by which that voice speaks one turns to the Press for light on this subject. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the American Press as a news disseminator, it must be acknowledged that from many other points of view it falls short of excellence, and with certain notable exceptions there is little in the average daily papers to elucidate political problems or to help the formation of true national sentiment. Sensation seems the chief aim and end, and neither deep thinking nor scholarly writing are of as much importance as artful alliteration or novel head-lines. It is perhaps partly on account of the extreme frothiness of the daily Press that serious, not to say stodgy, reviews find a warm welcome in the States, but whether it be in the heavily leaded columns of a "daily" or the sedate pages of a review, no one can wade, as the writer has done, through masses of literature about the new developments in the Far East and the part the United States has to play, without being struck by the very little real knowledge brought to bear on the subject. Men who have never been to the East and have merely studied their subject from the best authorities do not blunder quite so badly, but the peripatetic Senator, the half-educated newspaper reporter, the rich globe-trotter, or the special commissioner who has made a hurried rush from one point to another and collected "local colour" — all these illustrate most woe-

fully the proverb that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing.

The fact is that the United States, on the eve of a new era in their development and face to face with new conditions, must now work out their own salvation and acquire knowledge for themselves. Years of intimate acquaintance with the East will teach them more than sheaves of review articles or tons of Governmental reports. Until that knowledge is painfully acquired it is to be hoped that the dependencies of the United States will be governed and organised by the one or two men on the spot who know something and try to remedy their ignorance, and not by the masses of people at home who are anxious to ventilate their wisdom. Government by majorities is, of course, the natural state of affairs in a Republic, though in the United States it is being rapidly replaced by a different system — the Trust, or combination of a powerful few. Either method is likely to have fatal results if allowed full play in dealing with dependencies, especially such distant and difficult ones as the Philippines. The fickleness of popular opinion — swayed by a phrase, carried away by a catch-word — is counteracted in home affairs by a certain common sense which helps every man to decide on questions with whose practical bearings he is acquainted; but when the question raised is altogether outside his practical knowledge, he is apt to be swept away even more strongly by the tide of popular emotion. It would be easy to write a very informing paragraph on how *not* to govern dependencies, but it will perhaps be better to leave that to the imagination of the reader, which will, it is hoped, be largely stimulated by a perusal in these pages of the methods already employed by various Powers in the East.

CHAPTER III

THE PHILIPPINES AND THE FILIPINOS

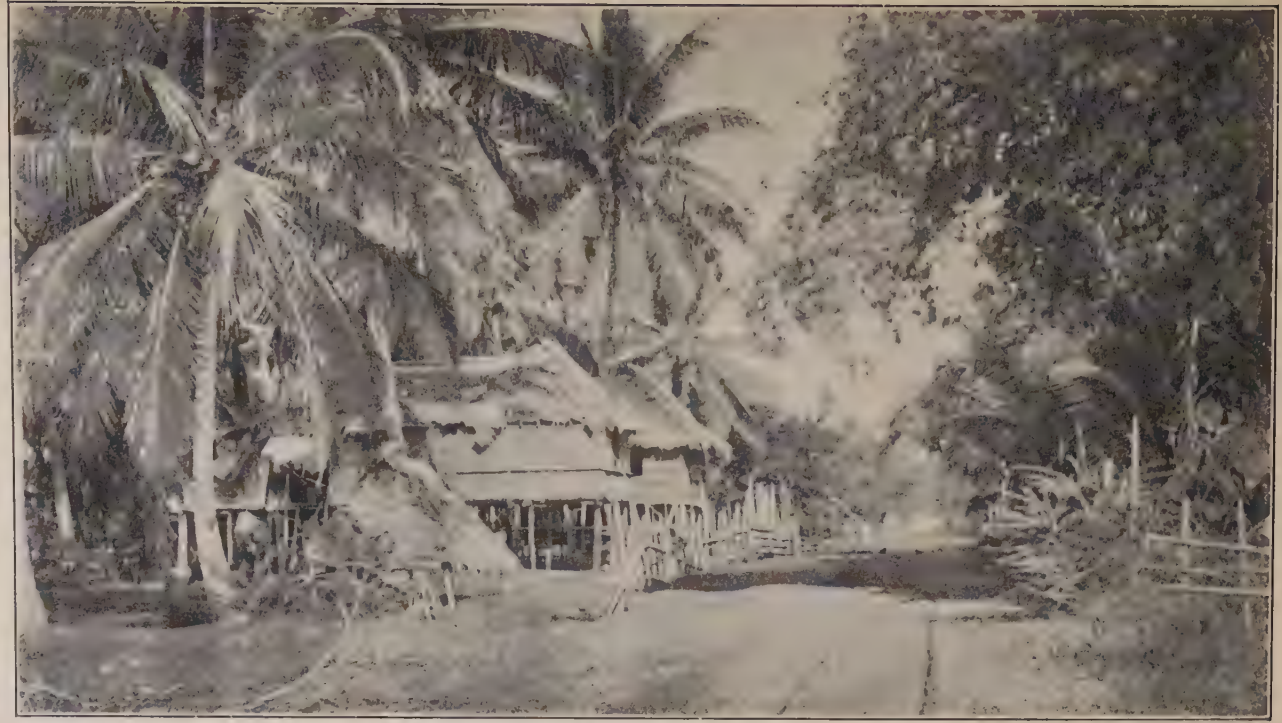
The archipelago known as the Philippines is composed of a great number of islands; the exact number, variously given at from six to fourteen hundred, cannot be estimated, but by no means all of these are inhabited. In this broken group about a dozen islands are of considerable size. Luzon is the largest, and Mindanao, the next in size, is considerably larger than Ireland. When Magellan first landed at Cebu he began at once to Christianise the natives, by forcible means if no other would avail, and when, some time later, Legaspi landed in Manila and began the conquest of the islands for Spain, his success was largely due to the Augustinian friars who accompanied him. The "Church militant" was no figure of speech in the Middle Ages, and many times in the history of the Spanish Indies do we hear of the monks fighting in the van, even organising regiments and leading them against the heathen, and, when victory was secured, baptizing the conquered.

The people found in the islands by the Spaniards belonged fundamentally to the three races already mentioned, just as the Filipinos do to-day. The Negritos, or aborigines (of whom there are now about twenty-five thousand, found in Luzon, Panay, Negros, and Mindanao), had been driven to the mountains, where they are still found in dwindling numbers. They have cer-

THE MALAY

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

J.G Bartholomew.



A TYPICAL FILIPINO VILLAGE

tain resemblances to the African negroes, being woolly haired, with protruding lips, black skin, and the flat calves and prominent abdomens common to people of a low grade. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, and knives bought from the Malays; they have no arts of husbandry, and, like the Australian aborigines, live on roots, herbs, insects, and reptiles, being nomadic in their habits unless they have come under foreign influence. Their religion is of the rudest, and they possess no temples or fetich houses. Attempts have been made to establish their connection with the Papuans; but, although they may have existed in some of the islands now inhabited by the latter, and have intermarried, the two types are very dissimilar. The hawk-like nose of the Papuan is quite sufficient to distinguish him from the Negrito, without mentioning other points both of appearance and character.

The Indonesians (of whom there are 250,000, chiefly in Mindanao) are of more importance, as they are not, like the Negritos, dwindling, but are in many parts a fine and flourishing people. In writing of the ethnology of the Philippines it is difficult to reconcile the many theories put forward at different times as regards the wonderfully mixed tribes found in those islands. The discovery of their words in different languages and their peculiar customs and racial characteristics elsewhere has led to wild surmisings; until, unable to digest the mass of writing on the subject, one is apt to arise with the conviction that tribes belonging to every race in the world are to be found there. The geographical position of the archipelago must, however, be taken into consideration, combined with what is known of the history of other neighbouring islands. The the-

ory of the Pre-Malay wave provides for the presence in the Philippines of a people of semi-Caucasian stock, and the proximity of the islands to China and Japan makes an infusion of the two great Mongol races an equal certainty. The Philippine Indonesians are probably far less pure in blood than the Bornean Dyaks or the Sumatra Battaks, but no one can fail to be struck with the strong resemblance between the three races. The straight noses, wide eyes, and lank black hair are frequently found in conjunction with almost fair skin, and the likeness in customs, superstitions, and methods of living is equally striking. It is more than probable that the Formosan aborigines belong to the same family.

At the same time it is difficult to decide where Indonesian ends and Malayan begins, the more so that the Malayans themselves, being of semi-Mongol stock, melt almost imperceptibly into the Chinese and Japanese. The Malay character and physique, however, may be taken as the real foundation for the Filipinos, and we shall see subsequently how that character, modified by three centuries of Spanish civilisation, has been further affected by the infusion of foreign blood.

It may be said roughly that, while the people of Indonesian stock resisted the doctrines of Christianity, the Malays (except when Mahommedans) accepted them with great readiness. Receptivity is, indeed, a Malay characteristic, and the commanding personalities of the militant friars, added to the ritual they practised, were both fascinating to the easily led and spectacle-loving Malay. The Spaniards called all the Filipinos "Indians," but the Pagan tribes were frequently spoken of as Igorrotes, a name which, strictly speaking, only applies to one race. Among the many different Pagan

TINGUIANES — ONE OF THE PAGAN TRIBES OF LUZON

tribes, living entirely isolated from and frequently at war with each other, space forbids description of more than one. The Tinguianes dwell in the coast province of Abra, Luzon, and owing to the proximity to China of that island, a considerable infusion of Chinese blood may be presupposed. They practise agriculture and breed horses, are monogamists, and tattoo themselves. One tribe at all events, dwelling in the Benguet mountain district, are sun-worshippers, and have the sun tattooed on the backs of their hands. Head-hunting is also a custom, though not among the more civilised. Some have even become Christians, and dwell in peaceful agricultural communities. Some characteristics noted by the French traveller, Gironière, if correctly observed, tally exactly with those among the Dyaks. For instance, they build high in the trees and throw down stones on their enemies; they treasure porcelain vases; they dry their dead; they drink the brains of their slain foes, mixing them with an intoxicating liquor — these are a few of the points of coincidence, and it may be supposed that they are common to all people of pre-Malay stock. The treasuring of porcelain vases, however, is more probably due in both cases to Chinese influence. These old vases, used in many cases for dead bodies, fetch fabulous prices in Borneo. A thoughtful observer, who had often talked to the natives about them, came to the conclusion that they connected them in some way with the souls of their ancestors, hence their fictitious value.

This is not a scientific ethnological study, and the writer can only give the barest outline of the fascinating problems raised in even a cursory glance at the tribes of the Philippines, but before proceeding to an account

of the real Filipino, of true Malay stock and Spanish civilisation, it is necessary to briefly sketch another race found in the southern part of the archipelago, and distinct from either the Christian Malay or Pagan Indonesian. The Moros, so-called by the Spaniards because they professed Mohammedanism, and were, therefore, like the "Moors" of Spain, came originally from Borneo and the Celebes, at a period a good deal later than that of the first Malay wave which peopled the Philippines. It is thought that they brought with them the religion of the Prophet, which superseded the Hindoo creed hitherto practised; and they apparently belonged to the division of the Malay family, already described, who were sea gipsies and pirates. Settling in the Sulu (or Jolo) group and in Mindanao, these people became a powerful race, and North Borneo, including Brunei, was subject to them. They were the terror of the seas; swooping down in their long narrow *prahus* they sacked villages, took the girls and young men as slaves, and killed all the old people. The valiant Friars waged war long and unsuccessfully against these people, and endeavoured to protect their weaker neighbours from attack, but until just before the time of the American occupation, the Moros had succeeded in preserving their independence, although their acts of piracy had been checked and their power was dwindling, owing to internal corruption and dissensions.

Just before Spain lost the Philippines altogether, however, a treaty was made by her with the Moros, which practically secured suzerainty of their territory, and a similar footing has been established by the United States, which have not yet decided exactly how to treat this rather anomalous portion of their new domin-

ions. The friendliness and fearlessness of their new masters have produced a favourable impression on the Moros, and they are keen to reap material benefits from the measures introduced and the general stimulus to trade; but they present several difficulties, which will have to be surmounted with tact. They may be taken as representing the quintessence of the Malay character in its laziness, vanity, personal bravery, and a certain recklessness and dash which are not without charm. Perhaps of all the Malay tribes they are most given to *amok*, a species of madness which is not, however, without its method. The man who runs *amok* may be a religious fanatic, he may simply be suffering from mental aberration — "my head was hot" is a favourite excuse for loss of self-control — but in most of the cases which have been carefully analysed personal spite or revenge was found to be at the bottom. The *amoker* is described as shaving his eyebrows, putting on a peculiar dress, and taking a vow before his *mullah*, or priest, after which he rushes into the street and with his *kris* stabs right and left. The preliminaries are not always so formal, and an official of North Borneo, who had spent thirty years among the Malays, told us that more than once he had seen men in the incipient stages of *amok*, and, gathering from their appearance their disturbed mental condition, had secured them and treated them to a bucket of cold water, which promptly restored them. The question is not one of political importance, and the firm common sense of European rulers soon reduces the tendency to *amok*, since the half-hysterical temperament in which it has foundation makes any sort of "fuss" a gratification.

Travellers in the Philippines are invariably charmed

with the picturesque appearance of the Moros. After the somewhat monotonous semi-civilised cream muslins and dark cottons of the other Filipinos and Filipinas, the barbarous, fantastic costume of the Mohammedans comes as a surprise. Striped silk or cotton trousers, sometimes so long as to splay out over the foot, tight embroidered jackets of apple-green or orange studded with countless buttons, bright shawls twisted round the waist, and gorgeous spotted handkerchiefs made into turbans — all this is completed by an array of knives, or *krisses*, of elaborate shape and workmanship. Moreover, every man of importance carries an elaborate walking-stick, and is followed by a slave-boy bearing a huge silver box in which are his betel nut, lime, and the many ingredients with which he mixes a chewing-paste.

Both men and women chew constantly, and are rendered hideous in consequence, since their teeth are ivory black, and a sort of red saliva swims around the gums and makes their protruding lips moist.

The Sultan has a court and aspirations, like more than one Malay monarch whose acquaintance we shall make in these pages. These aspirations are in the direction of European improvements, such as electric light and steam launches, and since the arrival of the United States he has also become much enamoured of electric fans and other conveniences. In North Borneo, where he used to be a frequent visitor, he once developed a great craving to hear the popping of soda-water bottles — he was not thirsty, but he liked to hear the pop, so he demanded fresh bottles, one after the other, till his host began to feel anxious. Personally the Sultan of Jolo does not look like the chief of a piratical nation, but although some of the Moros are fine-looking

MOROS FROM JOLO

men and good seamen, it must be remembered that centuries of slave-holding have invariably a deteriorating effect, and that owing to the numbers of foreign women captured and brought to their harems, the blood of the Moros is far from pure. Slavery and polygamy are two conditions with which the United States will have to deal, and as both have their roots in the Mohammedan religion the task will be no easy one.

The Filipino proper, as has been already said, is primarily a Malay, but he has also a varying amount of foreign blood gained from intermarriage with Negritos, Indonesians, Chinese, Japanese, Europeans, and even with Mexicans, who came over in small numbers after the Spanish conquest. The children of Filipino mothers and Spaniards, Chinese, Japanese, or other foreigners, form a separate class known as *mestizos*, in distinction to the more or less pure Filipinos. The Spanish mestizos form a sort of aristocracy, reckoning their social status according to their white blood. The Chinese mestizos, of whom there are said to be as many as five hundred thousand, form the majority of the commercial class, and have usually more brains and capacity than any other. The Malay Filipinos themselves are split into many tribes, the two chief divisions being the Tagals and Visayans, who speak distinct dialects and regard each other almost as foreigners,[1] and this tribal feeling ex-

A SPANISH MESTIZA

[1] Visayans 2,600,000; Tagalogs, 1,700,000; Bicols, Ilocanos, Pangasinans, Pampangas, and Cagayans (numbering from 500,000 to 150,000 per tribe), and a number of others.

tends even to the Tagal and Visayan mestizos. Both these tribes, when discovered by the Spaniards, had a certain degree of civilisation, cultivated the ground, and dwelt in settled communities under tribal government, and no better confirmation of their lack of real organisation or patriotic feeling can be found than the ease with which they were added to the Spanish crown.

The priests frequently went ahead of any Spanish force to the islands, and as the people came under their influence, and island after island was added to the Spanish dominions, in fact as well as in name, the Government frequently found that, owing to the influence of the priests, it was not necessary to maintain any force on the spot. "Give me forty priests instead!" said a governor who was offered forty regiments, and the saying grew up that a priest was equal to a regiment. It was the priest who frequently was the sole representative of Spain in scattered villages and districts, who kept an eye not only on native officials but on the Spanish governors and even the governor-general himself. Each fraternity had its representative at the Court of Madrid, more powerful than many of the grandees and counsellors. The Friars, as they are always termed in the Philippines, performed many functions. They entirely controlled and provided for the education of all classes. The Government provided for teachers, but having been trained under supervision of the priests, they could not follow their calling without interference, for the Friars were inspectors of education and could secure the dismissal of a teacher by a word. Despite the large sums devoted to education the mass of the people received nothing but the rudiments, and the determined opposition of the Friars to the Spanish language was so successful that in

many districts nothing but the native dialect is known. When the missions were constituted parishes the Friars also became parish priests, and as such prepared the registers, and performed marriage and other ceremonies for which, although there was a fixed rate, they extracted payment at their will, often at exorbitant rates. When the army conscription was taken, every fifth man being compelled to serve, it was the Friars who prepared the lists. In the strict use of the confessional which they prescribed, they became recipients of confidences, and knew far more about a man's family than he himself. They kept up a system of espionage of the most complete description, and as they were usually the only men in the place of any education, or who could speak Spanish, it may be imagined how absolute was their power over all the members of their flock. Of course the priest's word always carried conviction, and without imputing any desire to abuse their power it can easily be seen that the best of priests found himself in a position of such complete and unquestioned control of the lives of all around him, that by comparison the power of kings and kaisers sinks into insignificance.

When one is surprised that such a state of affairs should have grown up, we must remember the isolated position of the Philippine Archipelago, as far as Europe was concerned, in the days before the cutting of the Suez Canal. Spanish officials, or their despatches, had to make a tedious and sometimes perilous journey round the Cape of Good Hope, and this being considered impracticable the Philippines were constituted a dependency of Mexico and remained so for over three centuries. Once a year a stately galleon battled her way across from shore to shore of the Pacific and brought

news and merchandise from West to East and from East to West. It was during this era that for a short period the Union Jack was hoisted at Manila, in the year 1762, during the Peninsular campaign, but, peace having been made in Europe, the British evacuated Manila in 1774, after a brief and not very glorious occupation. The achievement of her independence by Mexico in 1820 cut the cord which united her to the Philippines, and from that date began some of the most flagrant abuses in the government of the latter.

The country had been divided into provinces, each with a governor, known as the Alcalde, who was civil or military according to the character of the district he governed. His functions were both judicial and executive, and from his court the only appeal was to the Governor-General. Every town was presided over by what may be termed a municipal council and a mayor, known as the *gobernadorcillo*, who reported direct to the provincial governor. This, in brief, was the simple scheme of Spanish government.

The cutting of the Suez Canal brought great changes, and if the government had been inept before, it became doubly so, and corrupt into the bargain. This was partly due to the horde of Spanish place-hunters who poured into the country. When the principal post was obtained by bribes, or even sold to the highest bidder, as was the office of Governor-General of the Philippines in later days, one can imagine the means used to secure the smaller offices. To pay the increased number of salaries, on account of the innumerable posts created to provide for these place-hunters, fresh taxes were imposed. The people grumbled more and more, and even gave vent to little spurts of rebellion. In 1867 a new police

known as the *guardia civil*, and composed of native soldiers and Spanish officers, was organised. These men, though doubtless useful in maintaining order in the towns, were exceedingly unpopular on account of the harsh and arbitrary methods they adopted, while the fact that their word would convict a man, and that their persons were to be held sacred, placed them in a dangerously powerful position. At the same time the country was infested with robber bands, against whom the *guardia civil* made little headway. The corruption of the courts was another crying abuse. The dilatory hand of the law fell only when private greed or spite backed by a long purse pulled the strings, and cases are known of prisoners remaining ten years in prison awaiting trial. Various reforms were attempted. In 1886 the executive and judicial powers were separated, but the condition of the people remained the same, and with every new official a fresh burden fell upon the taxpayer. It was not, however, so much the actual taxation that roused indignation, as the "squeeze," which every one in authority, priests or laymen, took out of the unfortunate natives. The moneys apportioned by Government for public improvements — the upkeep of roads, bridges, and so forth — all went into the pockets of officials, and the sums voted for education had much the same fate. The Governor-General himself was practically helpless to effect reforms, even if he desired to do so. If he tried to stem the unbridled powers of the friars they appealed to their procurators at Madrid and by backstairs influence had him removed. If he attempted reform in the Government itself he met with opposition and opprobrium from hosts of officials whose interests were involved in the old *régime*. Usually, however, the

Governor, who had bought his post, or had it bought for him by some patron, was too busy trying to feather his nest during his short tenure of office — three years — often made shorter by changes in the Home Government and consequent recall.

The mass of the people attributed a large proportion of these abuses to the Friars, whose influence was the one permanent thing they knew. In latter days Governor-Generals went and came with astonishing rapidity, and officials varied in the same way, but the priests remained — the constant representatives of the ruling power — and as such hated by the people who were groaning under the evils of misrule. The priests knew the value of their influence to Spain, and used it to draw many concessions from the government. Thus they became freeholders of very large estates, and one of the bitterest complaints made against them is that they exacted exorbitant taxes from their tenants on these estates, and compelled the Government to assist in collecting them. The rights acquired from the Spanish Government by the Church under the Concordat of 1851, renewed by a fresh Covenant in 1860, will have to be abrogated either by Congress or the Supreme Court of the United States, as in the case of the Mormon Church.

In making these statements the writer has no desire to decry the work done by the Church in the Philippines. Many of the men sent out were earnest and devoted, but others were not always worthy of their Order or the Holy Religion they took with them. It was an arduous mission, and one that lasted for life, but although many saintly men volunteered for it, a great number were merely the sweepings of Spanish monas-

teries. The proud, passionate nature of the Spaniard — the same under a cowl as under the cloak of the bravo or the knightly bearing of the Don — was well fitted for the earlier phases of a mission which required at first blind devotion and personal courage, but absolutely unfitted for the later phases, when self-control and conscientiousness were the desiderata.

Under such circumstances there is unfortunately no doubt that the majority of the Friars abused much of their power, yielded to temptation, and lived lives unworthy of their high calling. Immorality was one of the most heinous of their offences; but, although it has been made a great deal of, it was *not* the fault which aroused the indignation of the Filipino, for the easy-going morals of the people saw no great crime in it, and a woman rather gained than lost in social station if her child had a white *padre* for its father. The burden laid upon the Filipinos was a heavier one. *They had lost their liberty, not only as a people but as individuals.* No man could feel that the secret of his bosom was safe, and the terrible power granted the priests of denouncing "suspects," who might without trial be deported, opened a vista of unknown horrors to the ignorant native.

Any one who desires a graphic, though painful, picture of the Philippines in the latter days of this *régime* may read the translations of two books — "Noli me tangere" and "El Filibustero" — by the greatest of Filipinos, indeed the one great man ever produced by the Malay race — Dr. Rizal. The palpitating life in these stories can only be equalled in the best literature of other lands. Lacking in construction they aim, like the works of the immortal Jokai, at giving a series of pictures of life,

photographic in their accuracy, and withal the spirit of the Philippines, the essence, atmosphere — call it what you will — that indefinable touch, which only genius can give, breathes through Rizal's works and transfigures his pages. His poetry is graceful and charming, but loses in translation even more than his novels, and, in their English form at least, these are woefully mutilated. It was the death of Rizal which, partially at all events, led the Filipinos to a serious revolt. Banished on account of his books to a lonely island, he lived in retirement, doing good to the poor people round. Influential Filipinos came to him on pretexts of ill-health, for he was a qualified doctor and a man of scientific attainments, but in reality they wished to consult him on the affairs of their distressed country. Rizal counselled moderation and, when approached by the leader of a new secret society which had sprung up in the islands under the name Katipunan, and was attracting large numbers of the lower orders, advised that no revolutionary methods should be adopted. When an outbreak of fever in Cuba was sweeping away thousands, he volunteered to go there, and was actually on the way when his enemies, fearing lest he should escape, caused his recall and trial for treason. The chief evidence against him was that of certain papers discovered in baggage belonging to his sister, and there are many people who maintain that these were not only printed but placed there by order of Rizal's enemies, of whom the Friars were chief. He was condemned to death and shot in the back on the Lunetta at Manila, the usual place for political executions, and the fashionable promenade and drive. To increase the indignity Filipino soldiers were compelled

to form the firing party, and not Spanish as was usual. The *beau monde* of Manila witnessed the execution with acclamation, ladies waving their kerchiefs as the band played "La Marcha di Cadiz." They little thought of the swift and terrible retribution at hand, when the despised "Indian," whom one of the Friars had described in a book as "brother to the *carabao*" (the buffalo or beast of burden), should turn and sweep his Spanish conquerors out of the land.

It is unnecessary here to trace the various stages of the Filipino rebellions. The two main divisions of the Malay family, the Tagals and the Visayans, took up arms at different times and on different pretexts. Rebellions were quelled and then broke out again, but the chief indignation was levelled at the priests, and numbers lost their lives, were imprisoned, or driven away. The chief Orders against which the Filipinos rebelled were the Augustinian and Dominican as landholders, and the Recollets. The Jesuits, having once been banished on account of their interference in politics, after their return devoted themselves chiefly to education and science; and it is to them that we owe the greater part of our present knowledge of the Philippines, the charting of coasts, and many other useful works, while their world-famous observatory at Manila has been of the greatest service to sailors in these troubled seas, forecasts being telegraphed to different ports. The Jesuits consequently did not, to the same extent, arouse the animosity of the people, which was chiefly directed against those Friars who were acting as parish priests. Besides the members of the Orders mentioned, there were a small number of others, all Spaniards, engaged in various ways and a large number of native priests. The

latter had usually been trained in one of the colleges, had taken orders, and were acting as parish priests. As a rule, they were rough and ignorant men, and their mode of life was lax, but they did not arouse the indignation of the people by the assumption of power, as did the Spanish Friars, and although some of them perished in the last rising, they were in most cases permitted to return to their churches after a time.

The final insurrection, which had been seething for ten years, began in 1896, when the Tagals first rose, imprisoning and murdering some of the Friars. The movement spread, despite the sending out of fresh Spanish troops. Disaffection showed itself in the Filipino native regiments. The Katipunan and other societies were very active, and among the leaders Emilio Aguinaldo made his appearance. With other chiefs he was, however, bought off for a time, and in December 1897 retired to Hong Kong. The expulsion of the Friars, which had been promised, was not carried out, and Aguinaldo employed the money in buying fresh arms. The rebellion soon broke out again, and the conflict recommenced, great barbarities being practised on both sides, and, in March 1898, several regiments revolted and joined the insurgents. But a new force now arrived on the scene. The United States declared war with Spain, and in May Admiral Dewey, to the surprise of every one, sailed into Manila Bay, destroyed the Spanish Fleet, and thus began the American conquest of the Philippines. Aguinaldo was brought over from Hong Kong to lead the rebels against Spain, and proclaimed a Dictatorial Government. In August the American troops entered Manila, the Spaniards offering hardly any resistance. Between the collapse of Spanish

sovereignty in the islands and the establishment of the United States in its stead (in December) there was a deplorable hiatus, due, no doubt, to the fact that the United States had not contemplated such a move, but were, as one of their generals put it, literally "pitchforked into the Philippines." During this interregnum, chaos was supreme. Small republics were formed which exceeded the Spanish Government in ineptitude and corruption. Robber bands were let loose, and the whole country was in confusion. When it became apparent, however, that the United States had no intention of leaving the islands to work out their own salvation, a new phase began. The Insurrecto leaders, having pledged themselves to independence, organised resistance to the United States, inflaming the people by declaring that the Americans were going to bring back the Friars. Colour was given to this by the fact that they could not see their way to a wholesale confiscation of Church lands, and, while incurring the displeasure of the Filipinos by protecting the Friars to a certain extent, they had all the weight of the latter against them, for the priests felt that the return of Spain was the one hope of retaining their position. The relations of the Filipinos and Americans became more and more strained after the Peace Commission had signed the Treaty, and on February 4, 1899, open hostilities began.

The further aspects of the American campaign in the Philippines are referred to elsewhere. Meanwhile, let us see what manner of man was the "little brown brother" who was fighting so keenly for liberty.

The term "Filipino," strictly speaking, applies to all who are born in the Philippines, but it is necessary here, at the very outset, to make several distinctions. It is

incorrect to speak of the "Filipino nation," for there is in reality no such thing. The Philippine Islands, physically broken up and scattered over a vast area (roughly 1000 miles from north to south, and 600 miles in its maximum width), are inhabited, as has been already said, by a number of different tribes and races, all belonging to one or other of the three great families already mentioned, but remarkably diverse in customs. Far from being united by any national spirit or sentiment, a great deal of jealousy and suspicion exists between many of these tribes. The Negritos are practically a *quantité negligeable*, and need not be described at length. They are dwelling peacefully under American protection, but are decaying, and will disappear like the aborigines of Tasmania. The pagan, warlike, and physically superior Indonesians have always been in a condition of "every man's hand against his neighbour." They offer no organised resistance as a rule, and will probably settle down quietly under the Stars and Stripes. It will be interesting to watch the attempts at civilising them. The man who is giving all the trouble is the Malay, or his half-brother the mestizo, and it is him that we are about to discuss.

Although the different families of the race, such as the Tagals of the north (spread over Central Luzon, and southward as far as the coast of Mindoro), and the Visayans of the south (inhabiting chiefly the six islands between Luzon and Mindanao known as Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, and Samar) differ in character, speech, superstitions, and even in a minor degree in appearance and manners, there are two strong bonds uniting them all. The first is the Malay strain; the second is the Christian civilisation introduced by Spain.

The people are first Malays, then Christians of a somewhat peculiar type, and then Tagals or Visayans. In these generalisations the Mohammedans of the south are of course excluded.

The costume of the country is quite distinctive, and is doubtless a modification of that introduced by the Spaniards, altered to suit conditions of climate. The men are clad in white trousers and vest, over which is worn a collarless shirt with embroidered bosom and cuffs made of the native *jusi*, a transparent muslin, either white or cinnamon coloured. A broad-brimmed hat completes a very cool and airy costume, which is frequently washed and is usually spotlessly clean. The shirt hangs outside the trousers, and the feet are usually bare. This is the dress of all men of the poorer class and of servants, cab-drivers, and others of the same social status. As soon as he can afford it, however, the Filipino must have a suit of black broadcloth, with low-cut waistcoat to show an expanse of embroidered shirt. With his black billycock hat and patent leather shoes he succeeds in looking extremely like an undertaker at a funeral. The better-class mestizos dress like Europeans, except that

VISAYAN GIRL

they display an undue affection for black broadcloth and patent leather shoes, which are *de rigueur* for all occasions of ceremony. The charming native costume of the Filipina, on the contrary, is worn by all classes alike, and it is only those who are particularly anxious to accentuate their European affinities who adopt the tight-fitting dress of western women. The Filipina wears a

WASHING CLOTHES

skirt of checked cotton or of plain or richly embroidered silk, according to her means. Whatever the material it is rather short in front and has a little train behind, and she lifts it with much coquetry to show her frilled white petticoat. The poorer Visayan women wear a *sarong* in stead of a skirt, and the Tagals add a sort of apron of black, which is worn behind and fastens round the waist in front. A low-cut sleeveless chemise is worn on the body, daintily trimmed according to the means of the

wearer, and over this is a loose muslin jacket, or *camisa*, cut low, and with wide bell-shaped sleeves starched to stick out on either side. Over the shoulders is a *panuela* or folded handkerchief, also of muslin and stiffly starched, but it is not unusual in the streets to see this used as a sort of headgear by the poorer women, and coquetry demands that the *camisa* should drop at one side and show the bare shoulder. On the *camisa* and *panuela*

THE TOILET

which among the poor are of thin muslin, sometimes worked at the edges, are lavished the most costly embroideries. The beautiful silk muslins known as *piña* are also much used and find great favour with European and American ladies. When dressed for the evening the Filipina is a charming little person, and a ball-room filled with the tiny figures in their bright silk skirts, filmy muslins, and glittering diamonds is a pretty sight. The little brown faces, carefully dabbed with powder, look out with solemn brown eyes from all this

frippery. Decorum has been strictly inculcated, and the *señoritas* are somewhat grave and sparing of their words, but a bold cavalier can win a shy smile and a coquettish glance from the brown eyes.

The Filipina knows that her costume becomes her as none other would. Tight European clothes show the defects of her rather puny figure, and reveal the ungracefulness of her bearing, which is extraordinary. When she walks she shuffles along, swinging her hips and body, and this is accentuated by her love of the smallest and highest heeled shoes into which she can squeeze her naturally tiny feet. The poorer women, who are always barefoot, are less clumsy, and in many provinces the practice of carrying everything on the head produces a free and upright carriage. Children are carried on the hip, a custom ugly in itself and trying to the women, who probably owe part of their ungracefulness to it.

Probably nothing worse in its way can be imagined than Filipino cooking, and a banquet given in a provincial town is a formidable repast to all save those with the toughest digestions. There is the inevitable tendency, caught from the Spanish, to cook everything in oil and flavour it with garlic, and when it is added that a hospitable Filipino always insists on one's drinking champagne — even though it be of some weird brand never before seen, and bought from the Chinese store — it may be imagined that feasting in the Philippines is no joke. It is not unusual in the houses of the well-to-do Filipinos to see real silver, good china adorned with a monogram, and cut glass on the table, and among the wealthy hacienda owners and professional men the plate is often extremely handsome and valuable. Clocks and jewellery are two other weaknesses of the Filipinos. Many of the

tradesmen's wives and daughters wear costly and artistic necklaces and other trinkets, diamonds being the favourite gems.

The daily life of the majority of the country people is not at all strenuous. Some one must, of course, do the work, but the average Filipino takes care that his share is as light as possible. Driving a carriage for hire is about the most congenial occupation he can find, and

BASKET MAKING

if he is fortunate enough to live near a big town he can pick up a very good living in this way, for no one walks in the Philippines. If his wife earns enough money, by weaving or embroidery or in the tobacco manufactory, to support the family, the Filipino is quite content to be a gentleman at large, and will spend the day petting and training his fighting cock. Every Filipino is passionately addicted to the sport of cock-fighting, and will spend his last farthing in betting on the favourite. In all towns and villages there is an enclosure

for the fighting, an entrance fee being charged and bets freely made up to the last round. Often a poor man will lavish his all on a bird, feed and train it for months, only to lose it by one stroke; for the sharp spurs attached to the bird's legs are formidable weapons, and the cocks are encouraged to fight to the death. For his bird to show the white feather is a matter of the deepest chagrin and shame to the owner, and should that happen he as likely as not will wring the neck of the poor thing which has been his pet and companion for months. When the Filipino dandy takes his walks abroad he carries his cock tucked under his arm, just as in other climes the dude, or masher, sports a cane.

Music is an ever present passion with all Filipinos, and every town, village, or hamlet possesses a band. The musicians are clad in neat cotton uniforms and play on a variety of instruments, wood-wind being the most popular, while the drum is never absent. There are many ingenious native instruments fashioned of bamboo, and if he can get nothing else the Filipino carves with his knife a tiny rude guitar, which he provides with cat-gut strings and on which he tinkle-tinkles all day long the saddest and most monotonous little tunes. The writer has heard a Filipino sailor, with a flute improvised from a bit of piping punched into holes with a red-hot skewer, play an extraordinary range of airs and variations, in perfect tune and with much artistic feeling. Thus, with an occasional spell of work, his cock-fighting and music, the Filipino is one of the laziest and happiest of mortals, and lest life should be dull the Church provides any number of feast days or *fiestas* (ninety per annum, not including Sundays) on which he can feel that he is performing a religious duty by joining in a flower-decked procession

to the large empty church, and after a period of much outward devotion can return to feast, dance, and play till sunset. Even funerals are made an occasion for a certain amount of merry-making, and every neighbour must contribute what he can to make the function a success. The wealthier classes have their musical At Homes and afternoon receptions, when the ladies sit round the room and the gentlemen hover near the door, just as in drawing-rooms in other climes, while Señora A performs wonderful gymnastics on the piano or Señorita B sings a passionate Spanish love-song in a thin reedy treble. *Dulces* (small but deadly pink and white cakes) are handed round with sweet champagne, and the whole may conclude with a supper and a dance. The native dances are no longer known. The favourite dance is the *rigodon*, which appears to be merely a few figures from the quadrilles, but since the American conquest the polka and "two-step" have made their appearance.

The lives of the better class women must be singularly empty. Even the poor ones, who have children to look after, food to cook, and are often also the bread-winners, seem to have a great deal of leisure to dispose of, which they spend washing and combing the long black hair of which they are so proud, or sitting on the steps of their houses smoking and gossiping. Those who do not have to work fill up their day with visits, an afternoon drive, a little fancy-work, or practice on the piano. The simplicity of household arrangements makes housekeeping the lightest affair possible, and it is a well-known fact that dainty Filipino ladies who are seen driving in the afternoon in exquisite embroidered costumes may be found, later on, squatting in the servants'

quarters, eating their supper out of the dishes on the floor. In this they strongly resemble the women of Spanish America, down at heels and dirty in the morning, radiant and exquisite — outwardly — at night.

Before passing on to a critical analysis of the Filipino character, which has become a very important element in the present situation, the writer ventures to take his indulgent reader in the spirit to visit a typical Filipino town, so that he may understand more fully the actual everyday life of the Philippines, and from that the condition of the people.

Let us cruise through the blue waters, constantly broken with islands of varying shape, some green and wooded to the water's edge, some rising sheer out of the sea, or showing the scarred sides of mountains rolling back fold after fold till the purple distance is lost in fleecy clouds. Some of the towns lie clustered on the shore, looking out perhaps on a landlocked bay. These are the most favoured as far as scenery is concerned, for nothing can compare with the beauty of a bay, especially in these sunny seas, when the graceful curve holds a little brown town with picturesque *nipa* huts half buried in palms, and a big white church stands like a ghostly sentinel over all, much as in past times the spiritual fathers towered over their flocks and safeguarded the interests of Spain. Then the amphitheatre of hills and the smiling stretch of water receive a magic touch, and the scene contains the element of human life and interest necessary to complete its beauty.

Perhaps, however, the town is situated a little inland. As a rule one can gain access to it by river, as well as by a rough road which starts from a primitive landing-stage. The road runs through plantations of palms and

bamboos, and between the delicate tracery of the latter we get exquisite glimpses of the river, or perhaps of the distant bay. As one nears the town, the *quilas* or perhaps an antique victoria bumping over large ruts in the road, one passes a number of paddy-fields, marked out and banked up, but alas! dry and barren. A flock of locusts arises from one of these, and like a black cloud sweeps across the scene. Then come little *nipa* huts, often

BINANDO CHURCH, MANILA

poor and tumbledown, but full to the brim of the little brown people and bubbling over with children. Soon the huts assume more regular proportions, and are fenced in with bamboo, till at last they form a wide street. Many of the houses have their front walls taken down and on the floor of the first room, which is raised from the ground, is some little provision of fruit, betel-nut, and other indefinable luxuries dear to the Filipino. As a rule the whole family is occupied in selling these commodities, and for that purpose is grouped round them in various recumbent attitudes.

Presently stone and wooden buildings begin to take the place of *nipa*, and whitewashed walls and curved window bars are strongly reminiscent of Spain, as is also the method of building, for in all houses — the best as well as the worst — one enters by the front door into a dark and evil-smelling yard, with stables and offices on either hand, and has to go up a broad flight of stairs to reach the dwelling-rooms. This is like many Spanish houses, but not those into which was introduced the pretty Moorish *patio*, with its square of garden, its fountain and marble statues; nor is the upper storey built with wide verandahs, as is the picturesque and comfortable custom in British tropical colonies. The houses from outside present a closed-up, bare, forbidding look, and this is heightened by the glare of whitewash, only relieved by a little blue paint on the woodwork. The dominant feature in every town is its church and *convento* — in the case of larger places it would be more correct to use the plural. The ecclesiastical architecture of these islands is of course varied according to the size and richness of the place, but in such a provincial town as this there is nothing very elaborate about the building. A large and lofty body to the church is invariable, so large and so lofty, though merely like a huge barn, that one's first sensation is of surprise at the vast empty space — a striking contrast to the crowded houses and tiny *nipa* huts. The tower is sometimes built away from the body of the church, as a precaution against earthquakes, and not infrequently the frontage of the church is flanked with two small towers. In any case, the shape of the tower is of the dome order — with pillars, beadings, and ornaments which suggest the Renaissance. Inside, the decorations are of the rudest — cheap

pictures of the "Stations of the Cross," with descriptive legends in French and Spanish, tawdry altars and numerous doll-like figures, tricked out in shabby velvet and tarnished gold. Tall, dilapidated candlesticks, bent and twisted, stand before the altar with drooping candles, everything seems neglected and dirty, and we wonder if the all-mighty Friars, who ruled the land and squeezed the money out of the people to build these big churches, took more pride in the upkeep of God's house than do the native priests who alone are left to minister there. Many churches are adorned with silver altars; in the Cathedral of Cebu is a tall and splendid one, the reredos tapering to a point almost as high as the roof. These are dirty and dim, a fit emblem of the superstition which prompted their donors, if report says true, to leave money for them when at the point of death, urged to this restitution for the sins of a lifetime by the representations of greedy Friars. The pure silver of faith under such conditions became as black and dull as these corroding altars.

A gallery at the back of the church probably contains a few of the saints not just then in use. Stripped of their finery they stand in wooden stiffness, and one is tempted to more moralising over the sight. A staircase leads from this gallery to the *convento* — not a convent but the dwelling of the Friars or of the parish priest. This is always large, containing many rooms and commanding the best outlook in the town. The stables on the lower floor, built to accommodate several horses and carriages, are now usually empty, though sometimes one or two old victorias stand about in the yard. This, in Rizal's terrible book "Noli me tangere," was the only place which the unhappy schoolmaster could get to

instruct his pupils; and, fresh from those powerful pages, the whole scene rises before us. The bright sunshine striking on the whitewashed walls outside and making the darkness of the inner court more intense; the master seated in one of these old carriages, his little brown pupils perched around, or clustering on the broad, dirty stone staircase; the broken floor, the smell of ani-

VIEW FROM VERANDAH OF A CONVENTO

mals, the children gabbling over their scanty books — it all comes back to us like the memory of a dream.

One particular *convento* makes a never-to-be-forgotten picture. Situated on the side of a steep hill it has a wide stone verandah, from which one looks down over huts half buried in palms to the sea. A coral reef runs out and makes a little bay, and beyond this sparkling white line with its fringe of palms lies the ocean, with a score of white-sailed fishing boats skimming over its blue bosom, and a big white transport lying lazily in their midst. This *convento* is approached on the steep

side by a flight of steps cut in the rock, which pass under a rough arch; and the whole effect of the big white building with its broad piazza perched on the side of the rocky hill is more Italian than Spanish. We might be on the shores of Lake Como — the Friars certainly know how to choose sites for their dwellings. The space in front of the church and *convento* is invariably laid out with grass and trees, and not infrequently forms a sort of public square. On the other side stand the Governor's palace, the municipal and other public buildings in which, however, the towns as a rule are poor. The public buildings, where they exist, are of the Spanish type, and have spacious rooms with very little furniture, in which the most remarkable thing is the beauty of the ill-kept flooring. Very fine wood is found in the islands, and with such polishing as an Anglo-Saxon housekeeper would bestow, these floors would be very handsome.

Many of the towns have theatres, and one visited by the writer could boast of its opera house. This was built entirely of wood and the interior painted and decorated with medallions of the heads of great composers, Venus and attendant cherubs in wonderful foreshortening on the roof, and appropriate inscriptions. The house was arranged much like our own theatres, and had a dress-circle and gallery besides the lower floor. Another and simpler theatre was entirely of bamboo, the shape being circular. Before the downfall of the Spanish, the larger towns of the archipelago were frequently visited by travelling Italian opera companies, which accounts largely for the number of familiar airs played by the imitative Filipino bands.

The markets are generally held in spaces railed off

and provided with shelters. Under these are spread out on stalls all imaginable articles of food and every variety of *sarongs* and *camisas*, *piña*, *jusi* and coarser cloths. Other wares are arranged in flat round baskets, if the owner is not able to secure a covered stall, and the ground is so cumbered with baskets and squatting Filipinos that it is difficult to thread one's way among them. Every house possesses its loom, and there are so many selling the pretty cottons that one wonders who is left to buy. At one part of the market there are great piles of creamy strands, the fibre of the banana leaves from which the flesh has been scraped, or of the cocoanut, beaten fine. These are likewise for sale, and must be taken home, spun into fine threads and dyed.

These are the sights of a Filipino town — the big, white, cool *convento* and church; the busy, crowded, sunny market full of brown faces and creamy-yellow muslin dresses, with occasional touches of sober blues or rich reds; the little green squares, and a few solemn Spanish houses. Inside the mestizo houses of the better class there is little furniture, and as a rule not much attempt at decoration. A piano, chairs, tables, and a large picture of the Virgin are invariable, and the bedrooms contain little beside the carved wooden bed, with a grass mat, or *putati*, instead of mattress. There is always, however, an extraordinary collection of lamps, clocks, and watches — where do they come from? — the lamps out of order and the timepieces, of course, not going. The dresses of the rich señoras and señoritas are kept in rooms fitted with large wardrobes, and they frequently possess a great number of these costumes, all made, of course, on the same lines. Very large sums are paid for embroidered and hand-painted dresses, and some

A VILLAGE MARKET

of the finest are made in the convents at Manila and elsewhere. Three hundred pounds was the price to be paid for one dress, on which the sisters and their pupils had been at work many months. In a country where the French cleaner is unknown, the ladies — despite the simplicity of their costumes — can achieve considerable extravagance by having their dainty loose-sleeved bodices embroidered with designs of flowers in ribbon, tinsel, spangles, and even seed pearls.

In the poorer houses — those which are, however, better than the *nipa* huts — the furniture seems to be confined to hand looms and beds, several of the latter standing in the large empty rooms with unswept floors. On the ground floor, or somewhere in the back premises, cooking and eating go on; but the family lives mostly out of doors, and even when at home seems to spend most of its time hanging out of the windows. Suppose it is a *fiesta* — and such are of weekly occurrence — coloured cloths will be hung out of the windows, long branches of palm stuck into the ground in front of the house, and paper lanterns and flags carried about by the smallest and raggedest *gamins*. An original decoration once seen consisted of egg-shells carefully impaled on the spikes of a plant, the effect being that of some new and curious flower. On any grand occasion, such as Easter, or the visit of one of the United States' Commissions, the whole town is *en fête*. Elaborate arches of bamboo, covered with red and white paper, and hung with wreaths, span the roads; pavilions constructed of trellis work and covered with greenery receive the visitors. On one occasion, at which the writer was present, after our party had been towed from the boat to such a pavilion on two barges, elaborately made into

rustic arbours, the conclusion of the President's speech was the signal for the release of two white pigeons, which fluttered away from a paper lantern hung from the roof, apparently much embarrassed by the ribbons with which they were decorated.

A Filipino banquet is remarkable, not only for its cooking, already described, but in little quaint contrivings similar to the release of doves already mentioned. The writer, staying in a village in Mindanao, had the opportunity of witnessing the preparations for such a function in honour of the Civil Commission. A big kitchen was made of green bamboo, temporary ovens and open fireplaces being constructed with the utmost ingenuity, since there was no Filipino kitchen equal to the task of cooking such a Gargantuan meal as was thought necessary for the occasion. The Insurgents had, only a few weeks before, been fighting round the town, and some ten days prior to the banquet had laid down their arms and begun to come in and take the oath of allegiance. The villagers, many of whom had been in hiding in the mountains, came stealing back to occupy their old huts and houses — what remained of them. American soldiers were quartered in every available corner and picketed in the streets. All this was somewhat unfavourable for the preparation of a banquet, but committees were formed; some promised cooked dishes, others meat, fish, eggs, or vegetables. Wines were produced from somewhere, cakes and sweets manufactured galore. All day long the village was busy; people ran to and fro carrying glass dishes or chairs, or pots of fern and plants. Decoration is not a difficult matter in the Philippines, and is usually solved by cutting down small groves of palm-trees which are stuck in holes and form handsome

avenues in the shabby streets, or are used to literally line a tumble-down banqueting-hall. With a fine disregard for associations the banqueting-hall on this occasion was a room in what used to be the headquarters of the Spanish, since appropriated by the Insurgents, and now used by the Colonel of the United States regiment in occupation. The old names in Spanish still remained in white paint over the doors — The Head Office Tenth Division, The General's Office, and so forth—and the Stars and Stripes floated before it. The banquet was a great success. The stewed kid, ragoût of *carabao*, fish with chilis, fowl and rice, and many other dishes, followed each other somewhat erratically, owing to the spasmodic way in which they arrived from different kitchens; but the polite attention of the Filipino hosts, many of whom acted as waiters, put the most *blasé* of Europeans and Americans on his best behaviour. One felt almost ashamed to criticise anything in view of the evident desire to please. Lucky is the man, however, who is not obliged to add to his gastronomic exertions the task of entertaining a Filipino señorita whose soul apparently is in her new embroidered *camisa*. The table decorations are in all climes a safe subject of dinner conversation, but the unwary may be a little taken aback if, on addressing words of admiration to his fair companion, concerning a small pyramid in front stuck all over with flowers carved in wood or made of shells and tinsel, she forthwith stretches out her hand, pulls out a flower or spray, and showing him that it is attached to a small spike proceeds to pick her teeth! As a rule a loud band, or rather several loud bands, accompany a Filipino banquet, and although they make the task of conversation a trial to the lungs, they certainly

fill the gaps in a beginner's Spanish. After-dinner speeches are the rule — for the Filipino loves speech-making next to cock-fighting — and these, while they certainly compare favourably with those of other climes, have a poetic turn of phrase, and a grandisonian elaboration of compliment trying to the nerves after a big meal in the middle of a hot day.

Such contrivances, such preparations, such delight in the pictorial, the spectacular side of things, are typical of a Filipino town, and one cannot help wondering what outlet the people will find for their love of masquerading when the common-sense influence of America has done away with the religious celebrations, which have hitherto provided them with excuses for indulging it.

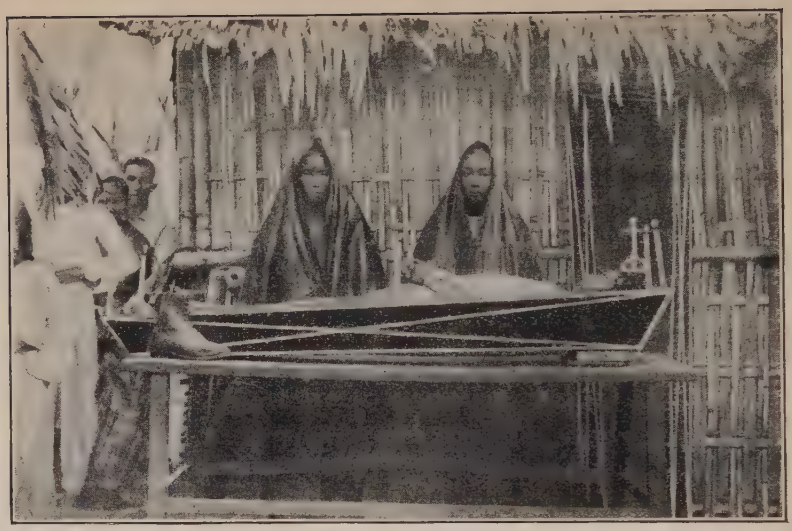
On the whole, the balls and banquets leave — in more senses than one — a curious flavour behind. There is a good deal of ceremony and display covering a very meagre degree of refinement. The decorations of palms, ferns, and festoons which cover ugly walls of rough, painted wood seem symbolical of the lives of these people, who love dressing up and processions, and any kind of display, but live in dirt and squalor. The Filipino is notoriously clean in his dress and filthy in his habitation. It is as though he were constantly employed in making clean the outside of the cup and platter, and very much the same is frequently true of his mental equipment, though in this matter we must of course make allowances for his lack of opportunities. He is constantly "mimicking civilisation," to quote the archbishop of Manila, and he mimics culture in the same way. The women have less real education, if possible, than the men, and it is at the same time a sad and amusing sight to watch thirty or forty seated round a room, for

the most part with faces devoid of expression, and with a lack of individuality apparent in their outward seeming, which cannot but be an index to their undeveloped minds. Nevertheless, many witnesses agree that on the whole the Filipino woman is superior in virtue and industry, sometimes even in intelligence, to her male relatives, and her legal rights have been most carefully safeguarded, so that the women of no other nation in the East and few in the West have so independent a position. This is probably due to the influence of the priests, to whose advantage it was that the women — always more devout than their husbands — should have the fullest control of funds. The women, therefore, have engaged in trade, have become landowners on a large scale, and have acquired a reputation for industry and commercial activity, which is probably increased by contrast with the apathy of the men. Their reputation for superior intelligence is, no doubt, founded on their quickness — a Filipino characteristic heightened in the female sex, which is proverbially rapid in acquiring surface knowledge. The system of education hitherto must have debarred any woman from becoming really educated; and those whose position places them above the necessity for work, or who are not engaged in any business which might give their minds occupation, must find life extremely tedious. It is difficult to imagine how the poor señoritas and señoras fill in their days, for their household arrangements are too primitive to require much active supervision: books they have none, nor are they expert at needlework, though some of the embroidery on *camisas* is done by them. This lack of all interest in life for the women more than accounts for the ardour with which they embrace any opportunity for a *fiesta*.

Education alone can help them and render them fitting wives and mothers for American citizens, but there is another side to the question which will have to engage the attention of the educational authorities. The physique of the islanders, speaking generally, is not good. In all the towns visited by the writer, the contrast between the sturdy Americans and the thin, narrow-chested Filipinos was remarkable. There may be in some of the islands people who are physically up to the average of the Malay race, but the people seen in Luzon, Mindanao, Cebu, and Negros (one of the richest islands) were certainly inferior in physique to the Javanese, the Malays of the Peninsula, or the Dyaks of North Borneo. The women in particular — especially those of the semi-educated classes met at banquets and balls, tricked out in jewels, silks, and embroideries — were slender, narrow-chested, walking, as has already been said, with a clumsy, rolling shuffle. It is to be questioned whether they, or rather their children, moulded on the same pattern, will be able to stand the strain of a thoroughly modern education. Their brains, quick and bright, though lacking depth and power of retention, will be apt to expand at the expense of the bodies, unless improved sanitary conditions, a love of games, and more generous diet are introduced simultaneously with education. Even then it is not to this generation that we must look for a more robust physique.

No visit to a Filipino town is complete without a glance at the schools, but as these must be described later on, when the writer will attempt to deal with the great question of education in the Philippines, they must be omitted here. The reader who has been conducted in imagination to a typical Filipino town, and shown the Filipino

at home in the act of extending hospitality to his conquerors, must now retrace imaginary steps along the palm-fringed road, growing grey and dusky in the short, tropical twilight, while the welcome breeze for which men have been panting all through the long afternoon steals up and whispers among the trees, and through the slender bamboo-canes with their pointed fingers glows a tropical sunset such as can only be seen in the Golden East. Far off in the distance the Filipino band blares out the "Star-Spangled Banner," but in the exquisite solemn beauty of the sunset-hour all these small human affairs — this froglike effort to equal oxen, this matter of wearing tight uncomfortable garments, and sitting in the heat of the day eating strange food with perspiration streaming down one's back, while a polite Filipino knocks the flies away with whisks made from newspaper, and improvised punkahs (also of paper) flap above one's head — all this disappears like a dream, and we only know how beautiful are these islands, how radiant the skies above them. The Psalmist felt the whole thing, and said in words for all time: "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."



A FILIPINO WAKE

CHAPTER IV

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINES

FINDING themselves in the somewhat embarrassing position of inheriting from the conquered Spaniards the animosity of the Filipinos, the people of the United States had only two courses open to them. They could quit the islands, leaving them in worse disorder than they had found, or they could go on fighting. They chose the latter course, the only one really open to a proud and civilised nation, but it was natural that a considerable confusion of ideas should prevail on both sides of the Pacific as to what they were actually fighting for. The writer had it from one of the men who directed that fighting that it took him a whole year to see his way plain. "We went into this affair without any ideas," he said, "and we've had to hammer them out, but now we've got them we must stick to them." Few Americans expected the war to be of such duration, and

before the year 1901 Britons were rather inclined to twit their transatlantic cousins about the two years' war with a few Filipinos. The circumstances were such, however, that the time occupied in subduing the Archipelago, which is hardly yet conquered, was by no means extraordinary. The difficulty of communications was more formidable than can be imagined by any one who has not seen the islands, with their irregular coasts, lack of harbours, frequent mountain chains, and roadless condition. The Spaniards did very little to promote intercourse, since in the disintegration of the Malay tribes lay their safeguard, and the tribes themselves lived completely apart from each other except when at war. The stormy seas that wash the Archipelago made inter-island communication difficult. As an instance of this it is related that on one occasion a Governor and his party, desiring to visit a portion of his dominions in the islands north of Luzon, were shipwrecked on a small and almost barren island, where they were forced to subsist on fish and drink the rain-water found in crevices of the rocks. Here they remained for a whole year, before being rescued by a relief party, but many died, and others contracted incurable illnesses. The only method by which the scattered and often unexplored islands could be effectively patrolled is by a large fleet of shallow-draught gunboats, and lacking these the Americans deserve much credit for the way in which their local transport service was organised.

The writer in giving his impressions of the American army in the Philippines is relying solely on what he saw and heard at first hand. Notwithstanding the reports as to the decimation of regiments by fever, and other statements of a like character, he was much struck with the

healthy, sturdy appearance of the men at the numerous posts in all the islands. In the majority of cases, however, these were regiments which had become acclimatised, and there is no doubt that at first many of the troops, largely composed of raw recruits, suffered severely not only from fever but sunstroke. Though in the United States many people are accustomed to almost tropical heat in the summer, they take a long time to realise the difference between that and the real tropics, and both in diet and clothing they are slow to adapt themselves to the new conditions. An example of this is the non-use of the sola topee. The English man or woman feels that life itself depends on that headgear in the tropics. In the Philippines, to wear one stamps a man at once as a Briton, and the ladies have adopted the dangerous habit of their sisters in the Dutch East Indies of going without any headgear at all. But Dutch ladies never venture abroad when the sun is up. When sola topees were provided for certain of the troops, they refused to wear them, and a consignment of some thousands is now rotting in a godown in Manila. On the whole the writer was most favourably impressed with the physique of the United States soldiers in the Philippines, and the Manila police, a body recruited from the pick of all the Volunteer regiments, is physically one of the finest *corps* of men in the world.

Of the United States officers it is somewhat more difficult to speak. The Volunteer regiments, recruited in a violent hurry, attracted all sorts of men, and faults which are unimportant in a private become noticeable in a man who is an officer and presumably a gentleman. Most of the commissions were got by interest, the friend or relative of a Senator had a better chance than the

best all-round shot and rider, and with this mixed Volunteer element the United States army has certainly lost in the general standard of its officers. Much heart-burning has been inevitably caused by the promotion of Volunteer officers over the heads of those who have served a long apprenticeship to their profession, and this is a real grievance, for the West Point graduate is well

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trained and educated, besides possessing courage and dash, while the Volunteer officer, brave and dashing, too frequently lacks even the education and knowledge necessary for a true leader of men. We have realised bitterly in South Africa the result of relying entirely upon courage and daring; the future wars of the world will be waged with brains, and brains must be trained, else they too often lie fallow or go to seed.

The war in the Philippines must have done a great deal to develop in all officers that most important quality, self-reliance, for with the defective communications, junior officers and their companies were often isolated for months from their headquarters and had to steer their own way as best they could. In the majority of cases they rose to the occasion, and the greatest credit is due to them for the manner in which they adapted themselves to circumstances. The commissariat department in particular managed extremely well under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and kept the most distant outposts supplied with the necessities of life, while the more accessible had even some of the luxuries, including plentiful supplies of ice. It fell to the lot of men unlearned in all such matters to take over the administration of towns and provinces, arrange municipal and other affairs, see to the finances and education, and all the while carry on military operations against an elusive enemy. These military governments have frequently been crowned with much success, though the writer is inclined to think, judging from the improvement latterly effected in one or two places, that more might have been accomplished in others. The average United States officer is too much inclined to despise ceremony, to accept things as they are, to put up with indifferent quarters and inferior service. That is not the way to impress an Oriental race who are perfectly aware that Western standards of comfort and decency are different to their own. The same criticism applies to the accommodation provided for privates. The writer is not an advocate for pampering troops, nor for mobile columns which carry pianos and canteen kitchens, but in many of the posts he visited the United States troops

had been quartered for many months, fighting was practically over, and yet the men were miserably housed. They ate their meals in wretched huts or canvas shacks, slept apparently anyhow or anywhere, and owing to there being no regimental canteens spent their spare time in the small native drink shops. No amusements appeared to be organised for them, and the sub-lieutenants, who in British India spend hours "sweating," as they express it, to get up cricket, football, concerts, theatricals, and other distractions for Tommy, were themselves reduced to continual card-playing. The writer uses the past tense, since he is speaking of the summer of 1901; but the criticism, meant in no carping spirit, is one that the United States merit generally, and not only in these instances. They have splendid fighting material, but have hitherto been rather inclined to waste it, and if the army is to be made a popular profession and is to attract the best men, attention must be paid to that side of the service which keeps them in good health and spirits. The United States have decided that they now need a standing army of 100,000 men, but they hardly realise for how long a period it may be necessary to garrison the Philippines with a large force, and nothing is so detrimental to good work as the feeling that it is only a temporary expedient. It would have been far better, too, for the Filipinos to realise from the first that the Americans had come to stay, and nothing would have brought this home to them better than such measures as the provision of decent quarters for officers and men.

The military operations in the Philippines may be divided broadly into three periods. First, in August 1898, some twenty thousand troops were sent out. As these proved insufficient, and the rebellion continued

to spread, further detachments were sent, bringing the total up to thirty-five thousand. It was at this juncture that the campaign may be said to have seriously begun, and thenceforward, until the spring of 1900, more troops were gradually introduced, bringing the total up to over sixty thousand. Of these some forty thousand were engaged in the Island of Luzon and the remainder scattered throughout the Archipelago. In round numbers this total was composed of eighteen battalions of Regulars, twenty-four regiments of Volunteers, several batteries of Artillery, and half a dozen regiments of Cavalry, of which one was coloured. These figures, of course, are merely approximate. In 1900 the Volunteers were sent home, and replaced where necessary by Regulars enlisted under the new army bill. Many of the Volunteer officers have, of course, obtained regular commissions, and others remained in the islands to take up civil appointments. Altogether, owing to sickness, casualties, and retirement, only sixty-five per cent. of the Volunteers returned to the States.

Since the writer's visit to the Philippines the Americans have suffered more than one check, and this presupposes a revival on the part of the insurgents, but too much importance need not be attached to isolated incidents of this kind, which are inevitable under the circumstances, though they have no doubt been partially due to overconfidence on the part of the Americans. Brigandage has been so long unchecked and is so deeply rooted in the country that for a considerable period a condition of affairs must prevail in certain islands resembling that in Upper Burma in the dacoit days. One of the difficulties to be met is the diversity of language among the natives — not two per cent. know

Spanish even indifferently — which makes it imperative that, when the native regiments and police are formed, officers should be carefully selected and have a knowledge of local dialects.

The portion of this campaign which received least attention, either in Europe or the United States, though it has been the most difficult and dangerous to deal with, is the guerilla warfare instituted by Aguinaldo in November 1899. The tactics then adopted were similar to those employed in other countries with like conditions — to cut off convoys, destroy communications, crush columns, and generally to worry the enemy without exposing oneself. But the Filipino added a fresh principle — to exterminate traitors — "to prevent the Filipinos from vilely selling themselves for the invader's gold" was the euphemism employed. They were to be unceasingly active and daring, and thus make up for their lack of numbers, to hide in the woods, fall on the enemy whenever chance occurred, and then disappear at once. The beautiful islands of the Archipelago are exceptionally adapted to such a plan of campaign. Jungles, woods, cañons, ravines, mountains, passes, gullies, dense cocoa-tree groves, and thickly fenced villages — all these offer ample cover to the sharpshooter. And when one remembers the unknown character of the country to all save the natives and perhaps the Spanish priests whom they had either killed or driven away, and the practically unsurveyed coasts which surround the islands, we can only wonder that the Filipinos have not made an even more effective stand.

The enrolling of native regiments and police is a matter of the highest importance, as they will, under American officers, be the best means of suppressing

brigandage. The martial career is one that appeals strongly to the Filipino, especially if accompanied by a smart uniform; and he is by no means a contemptible fighter, as was shown by the Macabebes, who joined the United States soon after the insurrection broke out and did valuable service as scouts. The police force, however, will have to be most carefully officered and supervised to prevent abuses such as characterised the

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guardia civil, and the native regiments will need the same precaution to guarantee their loyalty. The crying necessity is for American officers who can speak Spanish, Tagalog, and Visayan, and steps should be taken by means of rewards to ensure a large body of men so qualified.

The writer does not intend to attempt any criticism of the actual war operations in the Philippines. Under the peculiar circumstances he considers, despite a somewhat general opinion among Britons that the Americans

made "rather a hash of things," that the troops, both officers and rank and file, did wonderfully well. A protest must, however, be entered against the employment of coloured regiments against the Filipinos. Without adopting the view that the negro is incapable of behaving like a white of average character, it must be acknowledged that since the emancipation a very large number of coloured men have drifted into the cities, where, owing to temperament and lack of training, they have not been able to resist temptations of all kinds, and have become debased and brutalised. From the scourings of these cities the black regiments are frequently recruited, and despite the discipline enforced it has been a great mistake to introduce this element into the Philippines. The ethical question of pitting blacks against whites is a complicated one here; for the Filipinos are neither white nor black, nor even pure brown. In this respect it would have been better and more consistent if the United States had regarded them as white men by reason of their Christianity and civilisation. The employment of Hindoo troops in various parts of the world cannot be taken as a similar instance, for the Hindoo is of a far higher race than the negro. As a race the negroes have not risen, and the class from which the regiments are recruited is not the best.

Now let us take a glance at Manila.

Before the United States came to the Philippines, Manila was a straggling, sleepy town, with pretty, shady suburbs and a general air of *mañana* about its quiet streets and the deserted wharves along the river. Now it is full of stir and bustle. Hundreds of *carromatas*, *quilas*, and victorias rattle over the roughly paved streets, flaring placards flaunt above the shops, little huts have

been transformed into ice-cream saloons and advertise their wares in banners which spread across the road, ice-cold beer is announced in foot-high letters outside the drinking shops where Spaniards used to sip their sour claret. The whole place is pervaded with the pushing, bustling spirit of the New World.

The walled city was the nucleus of Manila, and as this is now merely an official and residential quarter, it retains a certain amount of its Old World dignity. Numberless large churches raise their towers above the low white houses, the wide open space before the cathedral is empty in the sunshine, while the sentries before the Governor's palace hard by — the *palazio* of former days — blink at the blinding light. This is not the residential palace, but the official headquarters, once bare and quiet and stately, with its broad marble staircase, great empty rooms with high-backed chairs and oil paintings of dead and gone governors. Now the numerous staff of the United States Government have their offices here. The big rooms have been partitioned off, the click of the typewriter is heard continually, and busy men in dusty boots and soiled khaki are forever dashing up and down the marble staircase.

In Spanish times the British — or more correctly the Scotch — colony, which included a good many merchants, the officials and engineers of the railway (the only one in the islands), and the *personnel* of the two principal banks was almost the only foreign element in Manila and lived quietly and peaceably. House-rent, food, and servants were cheap, and the society, though slow, was friendly and agreeable. Every one knew every one, and the best of the Spanish and Filipino society was open to the strangers. A charming tennis court provided exercise,

MANILA AND THE RIVER PASIG

and recreation was found in riding, driving, occasional picnics, and musical evenings. But at one bound Manila ceased to be a quiet, provincial town and became a metropolis. Now everything is changed. House-rent is exorbitant, servants are hardly to be had and cost twice as much as in Singapore or Shanghai. Food is dear, though more variety has been introduced and a large cold storage established, which will prove a great boon. Fruit and vegetables, however, are treble the price they used to be owing to the increased demand. Society, if more varied, is less select, and the city has become a huge caravanserai for travelling Americans; for women who come to visit their men friends or relations, for wives, daughters, cousins, and aunts of soldiers, for men on the lookout for a job, and in fact for all the miscellaneous crowd of birds of passage who flock to a new place under similar circumstances. The garrison element is, of course, predominant. As a lady expressed it, "One meets all one's friends from the States!"

The whole affair assumes the proportion of a huge picnic, and over all the American belle, with her piquancy, her unconventionality, her charming frocks, her high-pitched voice, and general oblivion of everything but her own amusement and comfort, reigns supreme. Drives on the Lunetta, shopping in the Escolta, visits to the convents, luncheon parties, dinners at the Naval Club or one of the (extremely bad) restaurants; dances, picnics, boating parties up the Pasig, launch parties in the bay — all these fill up the day and apparently compensate for the uncomfortable quarters many have to endure, for the hotels are the worst in the world and no English woman would live six weeks in one. When the hot weather gives way to the steady steaming rains a rush is made for Hong

Kong or Japan, and the husbands, fathers, and uncles get on as best they can.

Such was Manila when the war was just coming to an end and the floodgates were open. By and by, especially when Civil Government has been established, things will settle down and Manila will become more normal. Houses must be built, the question of supplies faced (at present it is cheaper to write to Hong Kong for the smallest thing than to buy it in the local shops), and other improvements made. Unless Chinese immigration is permitted the servant question will continue a problem, for with the increase of work all round, and especially the demand for men for native regiments and police, the Filipinos will look more and more askance on domestic service. The advent of Americans in the East has had an extraordinary effect in raising prices everywhere, but it is reasonable to expect that it may lead to corresponding advantages in increased trade and therefore renewed prosperity.

As was to be expected, picturesque Manila is rapidly disappearing, and already the suburbs and surrounding country are defaced with posters. The terrible earthquakes which from time to time have laid great portions of the city in ruins have hitherto prevented any style of architecture more ambitious than low square stone buildings, or flimsy wooden ones on foundations of brick. The cathedral, rent literally asunder by the last earthquake, has been rebuilt and is a spacious if somewhat tawdry building. Of the hundred other churches found within the walled city that of the Jesuits is the handsomest and most interesting, being entirely decorated inside with elaborate wood carvings done by Filipinos from the priests' own designs. Several fine paint-

ings adorn the altar-pieces and walls, and the organ is a good one. Manila is singularly devoid of "lions." When one has seen a few of the churches, the Jesuit college and observatory, the cemetery, and has driven out to inspect a ruined fort or two, there is little left in the way of actual sight-seeing. It is interesting, however, to stroll through the narrow Spanish-looking streets of the walled city, with their white houses and barred windows, and one comes across quaint corners, unexpected glimpses through open courtyards, and little *genre* pictures that stay in the memory. Walking thus in a sunny little square, where a few palms throw their shadows across the grass, and the sun beats blindly on the bare white walls of a long low building on one side, while in the deep cool shade of the other a brown-limbed boy is sleeping and a lean dog lies on guard, we are fascinated by the inky depths of shade beneath a little arched door. Peeping in, we see beyond a sunny *patio* full of palms and flowers, where a little fountain trickles. It is the ideal place for Spanish lovers, and we look around, expecting to see the folds of a black mantilla and to hear the tinkle of a guitar. But no! a figure advances; it is an old man in brown cowl and gown, with snowy beard and kindly smile. We apologise lamely for our intru-

A SKETCH IN THE WALLED CITY

sion, but he is far from angry, thinking, of course, we have come to see the chapel. He pushes open a heavy door, and we enter a low, dark, close-smelling chamber fitted like a chapel. Tawdry and tarnished are its hangings, crude and ugly the paintings on its walls. The old man smiles and shows them with simple pride. We stumble out again into the air and sunshine and leave him bowing courteously among his flowers. The ragged Filipino boy across the way wakes up and stares at us, as we pass moralising on what we have seen.

Of all the sights of Manila the cemetery is perhaps the most unique and gruesome. Imagine a circus with two walls, an inner and an outer, each some six feet thick. These walls are honeycombed with holes, just large enough to take a coffin, and these holes, the last resting-place of the poor clay that once was man, are leased for five years. At the end of that time, unless a fresh lease be taken, the coffin is brought out and the bones thrown on a heap at the back of the cemetery, where is a perfect Golgotha. One cannot help wondering what the Chinese think of this way of treating the bones of one's ancestors.

Of the climate of the Philippines it is difficult to form a very accurate estimate. Manila is probably the hottest place in the Archipelago, and in April, May, and June it is extremely trying. And yet there is almost always a breeze from certain quarters, and, if the houses were built so as to catch whatever wind there is, the heat would be tolerable even in the hottest months. One misses in Manila houses the wide and shaded verandahs all round, the careful arrangement of doors so that the air can sweep right through, the cool stone floors and elaborate sun-screens with which Europeans

usually mitigate the heat in the tropics. There are cool and convenient houses in Manila, but too many are built in the stiff Spanish way, and, besides, during the tornadoes the whole house must be capable of being tightly closed, a fact which rather precludes open verandahs. The rainy season, lasting from about June to September, is the most trying time in Manila, but from September to April the climate is very agreeable, hot but not oppressive, with pleasant evenings and cool nights. The complexions of Europeans do not suffer as in Singapore, and both men and women show a pleasant freshness of hue, albeit they get sunburnt. In Spanish days epidemics were the great curse of Manila, and the lack of proper precautions allowed small-pox and even plague to sweep through the city. An English lady told the writer that she had seen a funeral returning from the cemetery after the burial of a small-pox patient, with the coffin shell (which had not been left with the body on account of the scarceness of coffins at that time) still in the cart, the mourners sitting on the sides, with their feet inside, as they discussed the details of the ceremony at which they had just assisted, or the virtues of the deceased! Improved sanitary laws are the first of the benefits to be bestowed by the United States on Manila, and they are badly needed. The same applies to all other towns in the Archipelago, for insanitation is one of the causes of the fever which told so heavily on the troops. Throughout the islands the soldiers had little complaint to make of the climate. Exposed to so much sea-breeze and with a plentiful rainfall, the Philippines will become even more healthful when drainage and other schemes have been set on foot and proper water supplies secured. At the same time the extreme

heat during a great portion of the year precludes the idea that it can ever be a field for white labour. It is a tropical country and no effort has yet sufficed to render such a region a dwelling-place and sphere of manual labour for white men. It might even be possible for white men and women to bring up their children there, but in the third or at most the fourth generation they would die out. Here, as in other tropical countries, the European must oversee, direct, and organise. He cannot labour, and he cannot people as in a white man's country.

If the Chinese immigration question is a burning one on the farther side of the Pacific, how much more so here, in close proximity to China itself, and in a country which has for years been an open and profitable sphere to the indomitable John? The number of Chinese now in the islands can with difficulty be estimated. Many of them are Christians and go by Spanish names, while Chinese mestizos are even more numerous, and include some of the richest and most influential men in the land. The difficult point for decision, however, is whether or no the United States can carry out their schemes for improvements — their public works, roads, railways, bridges, schools, and many other important undertakings — without employing Chinese labour. There are plenty of Filipinos in the islands, but can they and will they do the work? Experts disagree as to their ability. As far as technical skill goes there is no question, but the writer is inclined to think that the physique of the Filipino alone would prevent him from working laboriously for any long stretch, and that this is partly the reason for his apparent dislike of work. Only partly, however, since laziness has its roots deep in the

Malay character, and the Spaniards who despised labour themselves did nothing to instil an idea of its nobility into their imitative pupils. One soon gets accustomed in the Philippines to see four Filipinos dragging at a weight which one Chinaman would shoulder and trot off with, and the testimony of labour employers is all in favour of Chinese labour. With Filipinos they are never sure. Feast days and *fiestas* must be respected, and the work gets behind, but even if due allowance be made for this, the whole calculations may be upset because half the men decide to take a holiday! Having earned enough for the next week they see no necessity for more work until that is spent. The writer heard of a case in which a contractor, having increased the wages to twice the usual amount in order to get plenty of men, discovered that they would only work half the week, since by so doing they earned the same sum which they had originally got in a whole week. No such *contretemps* would ever occur with Chinese. Having once been engaged, and given to understand that the work must be finished in a certain time, the contractor could be sure that they would work every hour, and could safely calculate the time they would take. At the same time a fresh influx of Chinese, such as (unless restricted) would inevitably take place with the new conditions introduced

COMING FROM CHURCH

by the United States, would be fatal to the Filipino. His clever, industrious rival would swamp him, and deprive him of the advantages the United States desire him to reap from their administration. The Filipino objects to the Chinese on the ground that he is a great drain on the country, for he remits the major part of his earnings to China, while by means of his close co-operation and powerful trade guilds he drives every native out of the retail business. The Spaniards were aware of the dangers of Chinese immigration, but in their time John gained admittance as a coolie. Once arrived he soon saved a few dollars, started a peddler's pack, and in an incredibly short time had his own shop and frequently became a prosperous merchant. As citizens the great objections to the Chinese are their hatred of sanitation, addiction to opium, and their system of clubs and secret societies which make them undesirably powerful. Those who can afford it almost invariably marry native women, who, far from objecting to a yellow husband, are aware that he will treat them well and not expect them to support him, as is too often the way with Malays. The Chinese half-breed, as has been said already, is a dangerous person — bright, restless, intriguing, and untrustworthy — and the rapid growth of this class would raise a very serious difficulty. This is briefly the case against the Chinaman, but the crux of the argument lies in the fact that the Filipinos must be protected from their stronger and more persevering neighbours. Probably a compromise by which Chinese labourers can be admitted on time contracts, would best meet the difficulty, but every effort should be made, as in Java, to prevent them from penetrating to the country districts, except as coolies on the large *haciendas*. To exclude them altogether will cer-

tainly retard the development of the Philippines and consequently that more important object, the development of the Filipinos.

Of the resources of the Archipelago, it is difficult to speak with accuracy, since the natural riches have never been scientifically examined, and the trade returns are neither clear nor very reliable.

An examination of the trade returns for 1900 only, or indeed for the last few years, would be misleading, on account of the dislocation due to rebellion and war, and a scrutiny of the returns for the ten years prior to 1897 is now of little value.

The share of Britain is not, however, so great as might seem at first sight from the figures, for the large amount passing through Hong Kong and Singapore as centres of distribution must not all be set down to her credit, but it is the largest, and may be calculated at well over one-half the total. It is noticeable that British imports have decreased greatly, while those of other countries, especially of the United States and Germany, have increased. The German proportion is considerably more than is apparent, for a great portion of the Hong Kong and Singapore trade is in German hands, and is with Germany. The United States' share will, of course, now increase very rapidly, especially in view of the tariff imposed. Whether the tariff is the best thing for the Philippines is doubtful, but it will raise the proportion of the United States and in the opinion of Americans give them a hold that will be difficult to shake even should the tariff be done away with later on.

The extent of British interests is further evidenced by a few facts. There are twenty British firms in Manila, and two of the three banks are English, the third being

Spanish — one of the few survivals of the ancient *régime*. The one railway, as already mentioned, is also British. A good deal of British capital, too, is invested in firms with foreign names. Next to the British come the Germans, who are here as active as elsewhere and are rapidly pushing their way.

The great resources of the islands have been hardly as yet touched, for in addition to the hemp, tobacco, and copra largely exported, there are woods of great variety and considerable value, gold and coal, and many valuable minerals, of which too little is known to speak with any confidence. Notwithstanding the existence of coal in various islands, it is at present unworked, and fuel has to be imported from Moji in Japan or from Newcastle in New South Wales. The excellent tobacco, which already furnishes the material for a great and growing industry, can be largely developed by means of improved appliances and the employment of capital properly organised, and will one day perhaps rival that of Cuba or at any rate take a second place in providing the world with cigars of a fine quality. The forests which have been sadly neglected will now, it is to be expected, be properly looked after, and much can be learned from India and Burma, where the state obtains such large and increasing revenues from this source, while preserving these countries from the evils attendant on the reckless destruction of the forests and the absence of measures for renewing them. In mining and planting there will be many openings for capital, but a word of warning is here required. This is no poor man's country, no place for the individual digger — the climate and cost of living preclude that — and it is to be hoped that the Government will be able to prevent the influx of a large

RIVER SCENE AND CONVENTO

number of unemployed. Already mean whites are abundant and on the increase. Nothing would make the task before the Government more difficult than to have the country flooded with the residuum of the States. The legitimate openings will be very few and confined to the official posts, merchants' assistants, engineers, and a small number of artificers and mechanics, many of which openings will be filled from the large number of volunteers who have had the advantage of seeing something of the country and are on the spot.

The inter-island steam communication is very defective, sailings being irregular, and the accommodation and food very bad. The communication with the outer world is fairly good as far as quantity is concerned, but rates are very high and accommodation indifferent. Between Manila and Hong Kong there are six regular British steamers, and every three weeks others call, en route to Japan from Calcutta; communication with Australia is maintained *viâ* Manila by a Japanese Mail Company, and a Spanish Company, the Transatlantica, plies monthly between Manila and Liverpool *viâ* Spain. Strange to say, there is no American line yet between the United States and the Philippines, but a direct lines of steamers and a cable are to be established between San Francisco and Manila.

The naval headquarters now established at Cavite, near Manila, are to be removed to Subig Bay, about sixty miles northward, where good and safe shelter is to be had in an admirable position, easy of defence and perfectly landlocked. American war-vessels and transports are still obliged to go to Hong Kong, as there are no facilities in the Philippines suitable for large vessels. In view of the naval importance of the islands it is

imperative that proper accommodation be provided adequate to the requirements of the future needs of the large naval force that will have to be maintained in the Western Pacific. The harbour of Manila is to be improved at considerable cost, a measure much required in view of the deficient anchorage for vessels, the plan adopted being an adaptation of a scheme sanctioned by the Spanish.

FIESTA TIME.

CHAPTER V

THE FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

At the earliest possible moment after the quelling of the insurrection, considerably before that movement was really stamped out, the United States set to work to provide the Philippines with civil government. In the scheme devised it was the aim to give the Filipinos as much voice as possible in their own government. The somewhat hasty manner in which these changes were carried out was no doubt partly due to pressure brought to bear by a large party in the States, who regard any attempt to rule the Filipino as tyranny, and demand that he should be given the freedom for which he has been

fighting. The position is rather a difficult one for the United States, for they have no precedents to fall back on, and to continue a military government after actual campaigning is over savours too much of the Crown Colony, and is contrary to the traditions of the United States. Many people have tried to find constitutional reasons why the Philippines cannot be retained and governed, but after wading through the pros and cons it becomes pretty clear to the reader that the United States Constitution is no hide-bound affair, but can be interpreted according to the will of the people. As the majority of the United States citizens would not countenance a summary departure from the Philippines, some method of government had to be devised which would not offend the susceptibilities of another majority who think the Filipino should be allowed to govern himself. Between these two stools the United States is balancing herself as best she may. A brief description of the system of government devised will best show how she is doing it.

The islands are divided into provinces, and the provinces contain so many municipalities. The municipalities elect their own town council and mayor, or *presidente*, collect the municipal taxes, and manage their own affairs. Three or four times a year the *presidentes* in each province are to meet in the capital to discuss matters of interest and to take advice in any difficulty. This municipal government is independent, but is overlooked by the Governor of the province, who has the power to suspend a man suspected of a dereliction of duty, and the accounts are subject to the supervision of the provincial treasurer. The Provincial Government is composed of five officials: the Governor, elected by councillors for

two years, for which post any American citizen, native or otherwise, is eligible; the treasurer, a permanent official, who must be an American; the supervisor, a permanent official, who must be a trained engineer and surveyor, and therefore for the present also an American; the secretary, who is to act as vice-governor, elected for two years, and usually a native; the fiscal, or attorney, who must be a qualified lawyer and may be either native or American. Theoretically these governments are independent, but it will be seen that the control of the finances is left with American officials. The treasurer collects the provincial revenues and sees to their disbursement himself; he also checks municipal expenditure and collects the taxes for the Central Government. He has, therefore, three different systems to control, which are all kept distinct. The supervisor, too, is an American, for the public works, with the many opportunities for corruption, could not possibly be entrusted to the Filipinos. It was not practicable to hand over to the Filipinos the control of any of the finances — this is the one point on which there has been no dissentient voice. It is not easy to see how the mere control of money will remedy the deficiency. Actual money collection and expenditure are not the only media for corrupt practices; influence and power are to be bought and sold, and it will be difficult to ensure the necessary degree of uprightness in the Government, notwithstanding the checks imposed on expenditure.

In establishing this system the United States provided a further check on the provinces by the power of the Central Government to veto the appointment of a Governor, or, when appointed, to suspend him should there be reasons for suspecting his loyalty, or should he be

proved guilty of dishonest practices, or for other similar reasons. If this were carried practically into effect, however, no Filipino would probably prove to be eligible, but large numbers have already been temporarily appointed by the commission, and when the first Filipino elections take place still larger numbers will be elected, for many of the present Governors who are American military officers will then be succeeded by natives. The power to veto and suspend are, of course, quite necessary precautions, but extreme care must be taken in exercising the prerogative, and it is to be feared that in practice many Governors will remain in office who are neither loyal nor incorruptible. The burning and vital question, which is of far more importance than any discussion as to the actual functions of officials, methods of electing them, or other details, is whether or not the Filipinos are capable of self-government. Astute Americans, who answer this question in the negative, believe that they can give their "little brown brothers" a semblance of self-government — something to play with — while at the same time maintaining a careful check on them, and in fact keeping the control firmly in their own hands. This they think will satisfy philanthropists in the United States and patriots in the Philippines. Less astute Americans, who hold the view that, given the example of the United States and some of her "representative institutions," the Filipinos are capable of raising themselves to the height of a civilised and enlightened nation, believe that they have only got to frame codes and laws and found governments and then to leave them alone. Both are far from the truth.

In all discussions as to Filipino character it is this point to which everything is focussed — the capacity for

self-government — for that signifies many qualities, and on it practically hangs the future of the race. Masses of evidence have been collected on the subject, much of it very contradictory, and it is difficult to decide where doctors disagree. But if one considers the different races which have been blended in these islands, and, while remembering their recognised racial characteristics, makes due allowances for the modifications produced by so great an admixture of blood, we shall be able to account for many contradictions. It is important always to remember that the people of the Philippines are not homogeneous; but, while there are wide differences of speech and disposition in the inhabitants of many of the islands, a very large proportion are permeated with a Malay element. Some islands indeed are populated with almost pure Malays. Of the other native races, the Indonesian tribes are found in the mountains, whither they had been driven by the advancing tide of Malays; and the Negritos, the original inhabitants, are an inconsiderable and vanishing race, of no political importance.

What, then, are the characteristics and possibilities of the Malays, as shown hitherto in their relations with Europeans?

Those who have been intimately connected with the Malays have to a great extent fallen under the spell of a certain charm in their character. They speak with enthusiasm of their brightness and hospitality, of a certain tenderness of heart, and many other traits which make them pleasant comrades. They are said to be easy to rule, so long as they recognise their master, to be brave and reckless, though superstitious. But their most ardent admirers, men like Swettenham and Clifford, are the first to allow that they possess to an extraor-

dinary degree the defects of their qualities, and agree that, whether physically or morally, they degenerate when brought under the influence of Western civilisation, losing some of their own primitive virtues, which had their foundation in custom rather than morality, and failing to acquire others which require the exercise of reason and discipline. Other deficiencies in their mental and moral equipment are a lack of organising power. No Malay *nation* has ever emerged from the hordes of that race which have spread over the islands of the Pacific. Wherever they are found they have certain marked characteristics, and of these the most remarkable is their lack of that spirit which goes to form a homogeneous people, to weld them together. The Malay is always a provincial; more, he rarely rises outside the interests of his own town or village. He is never honest, as we count that virtue, never truthful, and never industrious or persevering. This is his dark side, but it is with that we are concerned. The two points which are most inimical to progress are, as already indicated, the lack of unity and the lack of persistence. The Malay is the laziest of Orientals, and the Filipino is not the least lazy of Malays. The Malay, in short, is a creature of limitations.

On this stock has been grafted many shoots, and the result in the Philippines is a population so heterogeneous as almost to defy analysis, since it is impossible to trace the infinite gradations of colour, or to decide in what proportion the half-caste blood is mixed. The principal elements in this mixture are Spanish and Chinese. The Chinese mestizos, or half-breeds, have the reputation of being amongst the most brainy and also the most *difficile* of the natives, and a very large proportion of the insur-

gents belonged to this class. The Chinese character is so involved, and so impossible to generalise, that it is difficult to suggest the possible modifications it would make on the Malay; but when we remember the strong conservatism of the Chinese, and their intense superstition, we cannot be surprised at the prominence of these two qualities in their Filipino descendants. Some of the traditions current in the Philippines, for instance the idea that mines could not be opened without the application to the "veins" of an unguent composed of old women's eyes, and a report, as late as 1830, that children were to be seized that their blood might water the gold and silver mines of Spain — a report which occasioned considerable disturbances — these are characteristically Chinese. The Chinese indifference to human suffering and cheap estimate of human life have also made their mark, being only exaggerated forms of ideas common to all Orientals. The artistic and creative qualities of the Chinese are those which have left least impression, for reasons to be suggested later on.

The Spaniards have, of course, exercised a double influence, not only that of intermarriage, but through their position as the governing and civilising element. The faults and peculiarities of the Latin races are exaggerated and burlesqued, and a thin veneer of Western culture is spread over the passions and emotions of these Orientals. The Filipinos have in particular assimilated certain qualities which appeal to their sense of colour — to their love of show. The glibness of the delegates who attended the United States commissions was remarkable, when one considered that in many cases they were drawn from humble *pueblos* —

mere villages — and that their education must have been of the most elementary character. These wordy speeches, when translated or put into cold print, contained but the smallest dregs of matter, but their delivery and the promptness of the replies to questions are characteristic of the eloquent, wordy, frothy Latin races, among whom every lounger at the village hostelry is at once an orator and a politician — great in words, but not in deeds, for his patriotism seldom gets beyond the talking stage. Whatever may be lacking in the new government, there will inevitably be plenty of discussion!

It is the well-known tendency of the Latin races to be "intoxicated with the exuberance of their own verbosity," and when their dangerous facility of speech is transmitted to a people who have, by reason of their race and history, even less mental ballast, it is to be feared that with increased liberty will arise a class of windy politicians whose influence will be inimical to peace and tranquillity, since a grievance is necessary to point their periods.

One thing is certain. Though the Spaniards had introduced politics into the island, they could hardly induce patriotism, for that sentiment, in its true broad sense, is notably lacking in Spain itself, where the evils of party government are more crying than perhaps in any other country, and where the whole nation is torn this way and that in faction fights, the condition of larger affairs being repeated in the petty jealousies between village and village.

The intellectual subtlety of the Latin has also been curiously grafted on to the simplicity — which is not stupidity — of the Malay. The result is a peculiar leaning towards abstract ideas, a love of the purely

theoretical side of learning, with a corresponding inability to apply those theories, which are to them things apart from real life — things they have learned or read, and not evolved from life itself. They begin with the abstract and fail to work down to the concrete, instead of taking the concrete and so, through circles of thought, reaching the abstract. Their knowledge of rhetoric, logic, and philosophy is of little use to them, therefore, and even as an intellectual exercise it fails of its purpose because it has no sure end or aim. A witty American who, being a fluent Spanish scholar, had conversed with hundreds of the better-educated Filipinos, said of them: "They will write you essays on Individual Rights until you are tired, but if they met Individual Rights in the street they wouldn't know him from Adam!" This is the inevitable result of Spanish influence. No race is less fit to amalgamate with or govern such people as the Filipinos than a decadent Latin one, whose shallows have a brilliance attractive to a childlike, colour-loving race, whose faults are principally the result of a lack of mental and moral rigidity — therefore equally congenial to people who knew nothing of discipline — and whose virtues are the result of a long period of civilisation and culture, and cannot be acquired ready-made by even the quickest and most adaptive of natives.

It is curious that the chief glory of Spain, her pre-eminence in painting and sculpture, has found no echo in these islands, but the fact only emphasises what has been said as to the predominance of the Malay element. The Malays have not produced artists in any of the countries to which they have spread, and though at times they produce pretty decorative work, it has little individuality, and is usually copied from Chinese, Hin-

doos, or whatever race has come in contact with them. Despite the wonderful carvings of the Hindoo temples in Java (where the Malays reached their highest point of indigenous civilisation) there is no such thing as native carving to be seen in that island. They had not even the desire to emulate what their Hindoo conquerors had done.

The artistic element in Spanish civilisation seems to have been incommunicable, at any rate so far as creation is concerned. This want of originality is so marked a feature of Filipino character that it is as though we ran our heads against a dead wall in Malay characteristics. The Malay has no creative ability. Ages ago he evolved his idea of a house, and that house can be seen now, in any of the islands to which he has penetrated — always the same. The sameness of his musical instruments, his ornaments, his weapons, is remarkable, especially when we consider the wide range of the Malay invasion and the lack of communication between the different islands over which that invasion spread. The modifications induced in the race by a variety of climate and conditions have not affected the elemental characteristics of the Malay at all, and of these the most striking is the lack of initiative, the absence of that quality which marks certain men out and makes them heroes and leaders. The Malay race, it has been said with a good deal of justice, has only produced one man whose ability deserves, and has acquired, a world-wide celebrity — Rizal. The insurgent leaders, especially Aguinaldo, have acquired notoriety but not fame. This state of affairs cannot be wholly fortuitous, nor can it be attributed to deficiencies of opportunity or to unfavourable circumstances, since these

were ever the hotbed of genius. We are compelled to acknowledge the limitations of the Malay, and to suspect that wherever his race is predominant it will be rare indeed to find an individual triumphing over these trammels. To this universal mediocrity is no doubt due the very slight degree of civilisation ever attained by the Malays without outside influence, and also their political inefficiency. Great intellectual or moral achievements may require for their consummation a certain preparedness on the part of the majority of the people they affect, but all such need to be initiated by some master-mind. Luther has been compared to the match that fired the mine, but without him who can doubt that the Reformation would have been delayed and might have been stultified? The Occidental races are rich in individuals of superior power, courage, and attainments. Anglo-Saxons, in particular, owe the lustre of their history largely to the great deeds of single men, often private individuals — not so the Orientals. There have been heroes in the past, but most belong to the age of myth, and for many centuries China, once the greatest and most civilised of Oriental countries, has been waiting in vain for a God-sent leader.

There are few, even among the Filipinos themselves, who really deny the elementary propositions set forth, but there are a great many, including a number of Americans, who believe that education will remedy these characteristic defects in Filipino evolution.

The question is, whether this power of initiative, which involves not only ability, courage, and frequently self-devotion, but also a peculiar tenacity of purpose, is a quality that can be inculcated, or whether it is innate. We cannot argue from previous experience, for nowhere

are the conditions precisely similar; but it must be remembered that one of the chief ingredients in the character of men who have made history is their independence of outside conditions. Many have risen from positions far inferior in advantages to that of a young Filipino who has had a Manila education and is free to travel in France, Germany, or where he will. Great artists have educated themselves by drawing in secret with burnt sticks. Heaven-born musicians have poured forth harmony before they had been taught the A B C of musical technology. Statesmen have risen from the ranks of petty clerks, and have secured empires for their nation. The greatest of soldiers and the most remarkable of men was born in a half-savage island and started life as a lieutenant of artillery. Instances could be multiplied, but the point is too well established to need it. The master-mind must come to the front — genius of the true sort, original, creative, cannot be choked or hidden. As a rule, the world's great men have owed little of their success to education or training, save what they have given themselves. One may be born great, achieve greatness, or have greatness thrust upon one, but we have yet to learn that one can be taught to be great. This is, of course, no argument against the best and highest education — only a warning that we must not expect too much from it.

Lack of homogeneity, of initiative, of true patriotism, shallowness, fondness for show and ceremony — these are serious indictments against the Filipinos, but an even more serious one is that of untrustworthiness, added to the power of deceiving the most vigilant. They have the Oriental capacity of concealing their thoughts, added to the histrionic powers of the Latin races — they

are accomplished actors. As an example of this may be quoted the fact that many of the towns under American occupation during the recent war had two distinct governments — one, of course, under the United States officers, the other a hidden organisation of the *insurrectos*. Incredible as it may seem, the same men were afterwards discovered to have sometimes acted on both, and displayed, as was naïvely remarked by the military Governor, "considerable apparent solicitude for the interests of both." Another instance is the fact, well known in Manila, that a great number of families in that city who were receiving the Americans with ovations, feasting and entertaining them, were at the same time covertly subscribing large funds to the *insurrectos*. The moral obliquity of the Oriental has more than once baffled their opponents in the Philippines, and is an element which needs to be carefully guarded against.

In one respect there is an absolute consensus of opinion as to the Filipino, and this has led to the provisions already noted in the Civil Government scheme by which all finances are to be controlled by Americans. The writer has already stated that this is a rather futile precaution against peculation, but like the whole system, it is a compromise — the best perhaps that can be done under the circumstances. But that a man should be pronounced fit for self-government while he cannot be entrusted with public funds is an anomaly equal to "liberty, but no latch-key"!

A very grave side to Filipino character, and one which has received little attention in the States among the ardent friends of the "little brown brother," is the cruelty displayed by them in the recent warfare, not towards American captives, who were well treated as a rule, but

towards each other. Assassination and torture were commonly practised by the *insurrectos* under the direct instigation of their leaders, and the peasants were frequently harried and terrorised in a manner which made the rule of Spain seem light in comparison. It may be argued, of course, that the *insurrectos* did not represent the best element in the country, but while that is true it must be remembered that it included the more restless, daring, and clever spirits, and that these are the men who will inevitably come to the front under any administration.

The United States have resolved to make a great experiment in the Philippines. The majority of the men who framed the Civil Government System do not believe that the Filipino is to be trusted, but they wish to give him an education in government, and to do this they propose the method already described, which they believe will satisfy his aspirations while keeping him in leading-strings. It is obvious that such a system must be progressive. As the Filipino learns he will break loose from the leading-strings, and the next generation will want to do without them. To fit that coming generation for its future, education of the most advanced and up-to-date type is to be introduced into the islands at one *coup*, and by the salutary effects of training the evil tendencies of the Filipino race — half hereditary, half the results of misgovernment — are to be reduced to a minimum.

It is a beautiful theory and a beautiful scheme, but unfortunately it involves an entire subversion of the laws of Nature. To educate a nation is a grand and noble aim, but it cannot be accomplished in one generation or even in two. And here the task is complicated by the

fact that the Filipinos are not a nation. "The United States," said a prominent American, "has fought her way through centuries of progress towards the goal of universal suffrage and democratic government," but he forgot to add that long before the United States began that fight the ancestors of Americans were struggling slowly but surely through the mists of bygone ages towards freedom and liberty of thought and action.

It is the results of these centuries of struggle and progress that they propose to thrust at once ready-made on the half-fledged Filipino.

If the little brown brother were altogether simple and amenable the danger would be less, though still considerable; but he is neither. He is a half-civilised, clever, irresponsible child, who has warped ideas as to right and wrong. If unnaturally stimulated, he may grow up into a Frankenstein.

The proper education of the Filipino, if not unduly hurried, will prove in the long run an untold benefit to the race. Those, however, who initiate it cannot hope to live to see its happiest effects. In mere knowledge a very few years will probably make an enormous difference, and will turn the mass of Filipinos, who have hitherto learned little more than the catechism, into a horde of precocious youngsters with all the text-book facts at their finger-tips. But true education which affects the character, which teaches a man to think for himself, to discern between true and untrue, to seek in everything the highest — the education in fact of a nation up to the standards of true citizenship — this cannot be crammed in a few years.

The Filipinos labour under one tremendous disad-

vantage — *they have so much to unlearn.* The system under which they have lived for nearly three centuries has confirmed them in habits of mind which cannot be eradicated at once. Nominally a fairly good provision was made for primary instruction, but, like many others, it was never carried into force. The proportion was something like one teacher to each four thousand, and there were no proper schoolhouses, no furniture, no text-books. The schools met in the teacher's house, or sometimes even in the stables or coach-house of the conventos, and the teachers, wretchedly paid and badly treated, were often quite unfit for their tasks.

The curriculum was extremely limited, but the actual attainments of the children more limited still. Sacred history, the catechism, and the elements of reading and writing were the usual subjects, and sometimes the four elementary arithmetical processes. Geography books were used for reading in a few towns, and girls learned embroidery and needlework. In the convent and monastery schools for children of the better class the list of subjects was sometimes more formidable. The writer visited one where calisthenics, philosophy, logic, and rhetoric were supposed to be imparted along with European geography, astronomy, and many other subjects. But the pleasant little Spanish sisters possessed no maps save two of the Philippines and one of Spain, and their library was of the same order. In Manila the primary schools, though nominally public, were in reality heavily subsidised private institutions. There was no superintendent of education, no central organisation or department of city schools. The teachers received a small wage and a house from the municipal-

ity, and the people had to pay for the education of their children according to their means, the best-paying pupil receiving the most attention. The text-books provided by Government were sold to the well-to-do pupils, and in many other ways the teachers contrived to make a good thing out of their ill-paid posts — ill-paid is hardly the term, for the salaries were twelve dollars (Mexican) monthly for women and twenty for male teachers. The children entered school from the ages of three to six, and three years was the average maximum record of their school life. The following account of their text-books is given by Mr. Atkinson, now the Superintendent of Education in the Philippines:

"The first book placed in the pupil's hand was a little paper-bound primer of less than forty pages of text, 'The Heavenly Shepherd.' This little book contains the alphabet, the syllables of the Spanish language, a few exercises in pronunciation and reading, moral and religious reflection, and several pages of simple prayers, in verse, for memorising. A few very rude woodcuts, that have no reference to the text, ornament the pages. This primer was followed by a second little volume, 'The Admonitor.' This book contains about one hundred pages. The first part of it is something of a repetition of 'The Heavenly Shepherd.' It then contains a number of the church prayers in Spanish, religious commandments and maxims, a poem on the birth of the infant Jesus, and a few pages of sacred history, from the creation to the fall of Jerusalem. Then follow some forty pages of 'Useful Information,' including a little number work, division of time, geometric figures, a description of the universe and of the earth, with an

account of the Philippine Islands and of Spain and Spanish history; a few pages on the 'Three Kingdoms of Nature,' and two pages on 'Hygiene for Children.' The book concludes with a simple explanation of the service of the mass, with the Litany. These two modest volumes comprised the total of 'book learning' received by many of the Filipino children. They contain all, apparently, that it was thought advisable that the ordinary Filipino child should learn and the average native know."

Everything was learned by rote, and the Filipinos have acquired a retentiveness of memory second only to that of the Chinese. At the same time it is parrot learning, as has been frequently demonstrated by questions on the subject of a discourse delivered with the utmost glibness. The imitative faculties were cultivated at the expense of the reasoning ones, and pupils became mere phonographs, repeating what they had read or memorised. The power of imitation is particularly remarkable in their music. An air once heard can be reproduced with wonderful fidelity. When American text-books were introduced, the native teachers complained that they asked questions but did not supply the answers! No attempt was made to enforce discipline in these schools. All the children repeated their lessons or studied them aloud, and the teacher, book in hand, approached one after the other to hear him recite above the din, while the rest quarrelled, played, or looked out of the windows.

A few able pupils would perhaps be pushed on, and others, desirous of more education, attended the normal schools, where rather more instruction was to be had. But, despite the fact that they were intended to edu-

cate teachers, no training in the art of teaching was supplied. The contempt in which the educational profession was held was a great bar to any enthusiasm or quality in its ranks. Many who passed the normal colleges never took up the profession at all. In all this the influence of the Church was largely to blame. The narrow, exclusively religious system enforced by the Orders, their imperviousness to modern or external ideas and influences, were noted as far back as 1770 by a Spanish minister of the Colonies.

In higher education, at the colleges provided for better-class pupils, the training was equally demoralising. Philosophy, rhetoric, and the abstract sciences were given a foremost place, while mathematics, practical chemistry, and other studies which would have given depth and solidity, were neglected. Technical education was also almost entirely nominal, though the Filipinos show a marked aptitude for it, and it is related by a prominent Filipino, who had gone to learn something of scientific agriculture at the experimental farm established by the Government, that the Friars contented themselves with planting lettuces!

From all this to a modern scientific practical education is a long step, but the United States are sparing neither time nor money, and the reforms instituted are to be drastic and instantaneous. School-teachers of both sexes are being brought from the States, and normal colleges for training native teachers in modern methods established, for the first essential is to provide a staff of thoroughly competent assistants. Education will, of course, be entirely non-religious, and will be as practical as possible, while special schools for technical training will be established. Attendance at primary schools will

be compulsory between the ages of six and twelve. Ultimately it is hoped to affiliate the colleges to those of the United States, and then the whole scheme of education will be complete and thorough.

The Filipino showed from the first the greatest desire to benefit by the more enlightened instruction given in the schools, frequently by military schoolmasters, after the American occupation, and the night schools opened in Manila have been crowded by men and women anxious to learn the English language. The intention is to make this the school language, and ultimately the universal medium throughout the islands. This is a most important step and one fraught with many consequences, and it is to be hoped that its first result will be to bind the Filipinos more closely together. Hitherto, although Spanish was nominally to be learned in all the schools, many of the country people could speak nothing but their own dialect, which in many cases was unintelligible to those dwelling in the next island. The measure is certain, however, to meet with a great deal of criticism in various quarters, but those who decry it cannot suggest any other language which could with equal advantage be made a universal medium, and they cannot deny that some such medium is absolutely necessary. There is no Filipino tongue as there is no Filipino nation, and as the aim of all well-wishers of the little brown brothers is to break down the barriers that have hitherto hedged them in and weld them into an organised and civilised nation, it must be conceded that in spreading the great *lingua franca* already spoken all over the East to the remotest corner of the Archipelago, the United States are conferring upon them a strong weapon and a useful tool.

It is an ungracious task to find fault with a scheme so generous as that of the United States for the education of

Village at the foot of volcano Mayon. Legaspi Luzon

the Filipinos. The writer is inclined to think that they themselves are largely attracted to the United States by the prospect of these educational advantages, and that

they will take every opportunity of profiting by them. The Filipinos are not at all apathetic or stupid, and they are as eager as children to try a new method or hear fresh ideas. The danger lies in their cleverness and sharpness, and in the desire of the Americans to have everything done rather sooner than immediately. The consequence is that the first few years of enlightened teaching will turn loose upon the islands a mass of half-educated, conceited natives, proud of their little knowledge and anxious to turn it to account. We know the class well in India, and it is to be feared that, if they cannot be given posts to keep them quiet, they will turn their attention to promulgation of sedition or other equally undesirable practices. As government officials, however, they will be out of place, and so will become an incubus to the State that has educated them. Those who go, as many doubtless will, to complete their studies in the United States, will supply an even more delicate problem, for will they be contented when they return after tasting the freer, wider life of the great cities of America? True, Filipinos have been accustomed to travel in Europe, and, after long residence in foreign countries, have returned to their native land invariably imbued with republican principles, but the conditions were different. The Filipino in the United States will feel that he is a citizen of the land of the Stars and Stripes, where liberty of the press, universal suffrage, and many other blessings of an advanced democracy are his. On his return he will feel the inferiority of his position in his own country, where he is not permitted to hold this or that post, or to decide certain questions for himself. Political agitation, secret sedition — these will flourish in a hotbed such as will arise of semi-

educated, unemployed Filipinos who have seen what political freedom means, and whose appetites for political license have been whetted. The Spaniards avoided this pitfall of creating a large class of office-seekers by limiting the posts open to Filipinos to those which no Spaniard would hold, while the Friars, in keeping down the standard of education, prevented the average Filipino from being capable of anything but the merest clerical work. A minor mistake seems to have been made in the somewhat wholesale selection of teachers for the Philippines, and the writer is convinced that not only are high character and attainments needed, but that they ought to have a working knowledge of the dialect of the place they are sent to. The best thing that could be done with them would be to keep them at Manila till they knew something of the people and language. Salaries also should have been made rather higher, for a qualified teacher is making an enormous sacrifice in many cases in being buried in one of the out-of-the-way corners of the Philippines, and unless the remuneration is adequate an inferior stamp of person will be obtained.

What applies to school-teachers applies to every class of official appointed in the islands. The first and most important step is the creation of a competent and incorruptible Civil Service. The system of obtaining office by favour is one that must be checked with the utmost rigour, for it will be fatal. Appointments must be made by examination and probation, and only the fittest chosen. There are difficulties — not insurmountable, but still considerable — in the way of an efficient Colonial Civil Service being recruited in the United States, and these should be met by a severity of tests and corre-

sponding rewards for efficiency. The principal difficulty is the lack of a class on which to draw. Great Britain, who prides herself justly on the *personnel* of her Civil Service, has the advantage of possessing a class with whom that service has become a tradition. There is an inherited tradition in scores of families which leads them inevitably to send the best of their brains and sinews to do this work, and hereditary instinct gives a certain touch in dealing with the problems that arise. One of the traditions is that of absolute incorruptibility, and only those who have been in the service know how such a tradition stiffens a man's back in the numerous petty temptations that arise. Then there is an *esprit de corps* which is of untold service to lonely youngsters in isolated posts, and lastly there is the nameless something that an Englishman gets from several generations of ancestors who have been accustomed to command, to take responsibility, to make sacrifices to duty.

All these things are natural advantages accruing to the British civil servant from long usage and tradition. His United States cousin has to make his own traditions and invent his own usages. He is new to the work and does not understand Orientals, having neither studied them at first hand nor grown up in an atmosphere where they were familiar. He will be exposed to constant temptations, and those of a very insidious character, by a people trained to corruption as to a fine art, and in many cases he will be entirely isolated from any of his own race. It will be difficult to make the Civil Service in the Philippines sufficiently attractive to draw the best men, for these have plenty of openings in the States, and, as already said, there is no family tradition to take them away from their homeland. The British Civil

Service, both home and colonial, gets the pick of British brains, drawn from the refined and educated classes. The United States Civil Service has hitherto been recruited largely by favouritism and jobbery, and has consequently attracted few of the better class of able men. Reforms, however, have been instituted, and outside the Post Office nearly all appointments are now under Civil Service law, and within certain protected classes are made through competition. Enough has been said to show how necessary every precaution is by means of competition to ensure thorough efficiency in the Philippine Civil Service, which should furthermore be made attractive by good salaries, pensions, and liberal furloughs, without which officials cannot maintain their moral or physical welfare.

With the spread of education it will be necessary to open certain posts to Filipinos, which must be done with extreme caution, but indeed the writer finds throughout this dissertation that he is constantly obliged to reiterate that warning: Go slow! don't hurry! Let things work out gradually! It is the best advice that can be given, for there is no short cut to success.

The religious question is one which must be touched on in passing. Under the Constitution it is impossible for the United States to interfere in any way with religious instruction. The schools, hitherto the medium for little else, will henceforth give a purely non-religious education. It was suggested that the priests should be allowed certain hours to teach and catechise in the schools, but this was found to be impracticable. They will therefore be obliged to give all their teaching of religion at Sunday-schools or special classes. The Filipino's Christianity is a thing about which his best

friends disagree. Some say it is deep and sincere, others that it is a mere matter of outward show and superstition. One of themselves makes the distinction that they are not so much religious as fanatical, not so much Christians as Churchmen. They dwell not on the part of religion which is practical, but on that which is fantastic, and they believe most strongly in things which to many Christians are unbelievable. Their old idol-worship has survived in their intense superstition as to saints, whose wooden images they practically worship. Pilgrimages to shrines are much in favour, and the Holy Child of Cebu divides public popularity with Our Lady of Antipolo. The Filipino has no true conception of the ethical significance of a pilgrimage, and usually turns it into a picnic, but his belief in its efficacy in getting him what he wants is childlike and unquestioning. The lower classes are undoubtedly far more influenced by Christianity, as they apprehend it, than the upper. Among the wealthy, better-educated Filipinos indifference is the rule, while those who have travelled in Europe, and may be regarded as the *fine fleur* in brains and education, are almost without exception free-thinkers. The women are invariably more devoted to the Church than the men, and they were long in throwing off the yoke of the Friars. Many of the native priests who have again taken up their parishes are warmly supported by the women, who do not wish to be deprived of the rites of the Church. In many country places the entire population seems to flock to church as regularly as a model village under the eye of the vicar's wife. Nevertheless these people, outwardly devout, are usually incapable of comprehending the doctrines to which they so readily assent, and their know-

ledge of Christianity, gained in a period of two or three years in schools such as have been described, is, to say the least, superficial. A great many old pagan beliefs and customs are said to survive, even after centuries of Christianity, and these have a hold on the people that their religion could never obtain.

With higher education will come an increased capacity for appreciating the truths of Christianity, but it seems unlikely that any form save the Roman Catholic could succeed in these islands. The Friars recognised the tendency of their converts when they taught them to sing the Scriptures — the only way in which they could ensure them being known or studied. The music and ritual are essentials to attract the Filipino and fix his attention, and even with these there has frequently been difficulty in persuading him to come to church, and we read of corporal punishment inflicted on delinquents. It is safe to say that these were seldom women, if ever, for to them the services, feasts, and confessional were the only variations in a monotonous existence.

It remains to be seen what can be effected by the personal influence and example of disinterested men, for much, both in the erroneous conceptions and indifference of the Filipinos, was owing to the defects in the old system of religious teaching and to the tyranny of the Friars. The people have been much struck already with the conduct of the American priests who accompanied the army. "That is a saint — no priest!" they said of one. "He goes to any one who sends for him, ministers to sick and dying, and asks no fee!" The poor Filipino might certainly be forgiven if he failed to appreciate the ethical side of

religion when he knew that the man who was for him the mouthpiece of the Christian's God would mulct him to the last penny for every rite performed. When marriage, baptism, and burial were made opportunities for extortion it must have been difficult to realise their spiritual significance.

The sudden break between Church and State will inevitably affect the Filipino deeply, and many thoughtful people are inclined to believe that, suddenly released from all religious trammels save those he voluntarily assumes, he will relapse into a state of heathenism. The well-known tendency of the Malay is to revert — to return to his former state; and this will be accelerated in religious matters by the fact that the majority of Americans appear to them absolutely irreligious people. The distrust of the Friars will militate against children being sent to their Sunday-schools, and the little ones themselves, precocious with new learning, will not submit to be taught by their ignorant mothers or fathers. They will observe that their teachers, to whom they look up as patterns, frequently do not attach importance to attendance at church, do not confess or go to the sacraments. Even the Roman Catholic teachers will have a very different standpoint from which to regard the observances of religion. Thus indifference will be followed by contempt. The only thing which can even partially prevent the seeds of religious indifference from being widely sown, and from developing into something like universal atheism, will be a renewed effort of the Roman Catholic Church on entirely fresh lines — in reality, mission labours of the most arduous and self-sacrificing character.

A difficult religious question is involved in the question of how the Moros must be treated, for these people, by their religion and history, are quite distinct from other Filipinos. After two centuries of nominal Christian rule, these Mohammedans — far from strict or fanatical, it is true, and in many cases knowing little save the name of the Prophet and a few laws as to fasting — are still wedded to the practices of that religion which are wholly opposed to the tenets of either their former or present masters. The question of how America is to deal with these people, whose isolation from Spanish influence as well as from religion has marked them off strongly from any other denizens of the Archipelago, is extremely interesting. The administrative problem is identical with that presented in the Malay States, in Java and Borneo, while in the matter of dealing with a people of alien creed there is an even wider range of precedents to follow. The Moros would be best governed through a band of picked men given a free hand. The plan of devolving certain duties and responsibilities on the *datos*, or head men, is not only desirable, it is inevitable. It is difficult to see how anything in the nature of self-government can be conceded to these people, accustomed as they have always been to autocracy, and incapable as they are of realising Western ideals of disinterested patriotism or official purity. They will presumably be included, sooner or later, in the scheme of general education, and then other difficulties will arise unless they are governed by men who understand them, and unless the greatest tact is exercised in dealing with their customs and prejudices. Their progress will be slow and by no means sure, and meanwhile they cannot be left to themselves, or be expected to work out their own salvation. Experience — if America cares to profit

by it — shows that a paternal government is the one best suited to these people, because they understand it thoroughly and because it agrees with their customs and traditions. Democracy and Mohammedanism in their extreme forms can hardly exist together. The *dato* may be held partly responsible for the condition of his village, but he will not be capable of organisation, administration, or indeed of any function except the preservation of law and order to the best of his ability by his own influence and prestige. The success with which the *dato* meets, when he is the right sort of man, illustrates what has been said about paternal government; but both he and the people must feel that he is but a deputy father, and that there is, close at hand and easily accessible, a real head and a master, a final court of appeal on whose justice they can absolutely rely. The experience of many men who have acted in this capacity, maintaining order and administering justice (almost without any backing in the way of force) among a large population of an alien race and creed, may be summed up in a few words. The White Man sitting under the tree is to the native the emblem of Truth, Mercy, and Justice. He does not realise this at once, of course, but once brought home to him it becomes an article of faith. Let him come, with his wives, his cousins, and all his tribe if he wishes. Let him, and them, squat down and tell at whatever length they please their story, their difficulty, their grievance. When all is finished give them a definite decision, telling them the grounds on which it is based, and they will go away satisfied in nine cases out of ten. The ventilation of the affair will be a consolation in itself, and in the course of a few such interviews the White Man acquires invaluable knowledge of the people he is ruling. Laws

A RIVER SCENE, ISLAND OF LUZON

and taxes must be explained to them in the same way — a simple personal explanation and a firm *ipse dixit.* This method depends so much upon the personal equation that it undoubtedly presents difficulties, but those difficulties are nothing in comparison with the confusion which will ensue if any attempt be made to force elective or administrative functions upon people who have neither experience nor, judging from all previous history, capacity for either.

The Malay States, before the advent of the British, were split up into innumerable tribes, many at war with each other, and there was neither peace nor safety in the land. Tyranny and corruption were rife. Practically the same state of affairs existed in the Philippines when the Spaniards landed, and has continued in the Moro islands until the present day. The chief Malay States of Borneo (Brunei and Sarawak) afford an interesting illustration of what happens in a native-governed State, even when aided by foreign advice, and in a State with a white ruler, absolute and beneficent. The former, originally the seat of all power in Borneo, to which it gave its name, is now effete, corrupt, with no influence; to quote the forcible words of one who knows it well (Hugh Clifford), it "smells of decay." Sarawak, on the contrary, since the time when the noble and courageous James Brooke first took it in hand, with no particular liking for the job, but simply because he felt that he — perhaps he alone — could rescue the people from their condition of warfare, feuds, and barbarism, has become a model State. Modern education, agricultural improvements, and all the blessings of peace and prosperity, have been assured to its people, and the country is financially as well as politically flourishing.

The Moros have hitherto been favourably impressed by their contact with the United States, and their islands are said to be in a safer condition, and more free from acts of robbery and violence, than ever before. If the United States continue in the path indicated, there is every reason to believe that the Jolo archipelago may become as flourishing as Sarawak.

The Moros, however, present two problems with which the United States Government will have to deal shortly. Slavery and polygamy are practised, and neither can be countenanced in a territory under the Stars and Stripes. It is more a matter of principle than of reform, for neither system is subject to much abuse among the Moros. Slaves are well treated, and indeed are on a better footing than many domestic servants. Polygamy is expressly allowed by the Prophet, but his Malay followers are seldom wealthy enough to allow themselves the luxury of many wives, and Malay women do not suffer behind the *purdah* as do many of their veiled sisters in other lands. Their seclusion is of the most elementary nature, and the gray mare frequently proves the better horse. Despite this the awkward facts remain, and the United States will have a problem to solve in reconciling their own position on both questions with the ancient and established usages of the Moros.

Another problem, and one which affects the whole Archipelago, is that of taxation. Space forbids any detailed account of the schemes suggested for raising the necessary funds for even part of the administrative expenses, but it must be remarked here that the Malay, as a race, has a rooted objection to land taxation. Three of the main revenue sources of the Spanish will not be revived, namely a sort of poll-tax called the

cedulas-personales, — a certificate of identification with which every one had to provide himself yearly, — lotteries, and money-coining.

The taxation of land becomes a necessity, but will have to be introduced with the most careful discrimination, and cannot be properly enforced for a considerable period owing to the confusion which prevails as to land ownership, lack of registration, loss of title deeds, and the general chaos resulting from a three years' state of war. Many districts, too, are groaning under famine, owing to the non-cultivation of the land, plagues of locusts, or loss of cattle.

The treatment of Europeans in the Philippines is not a question which should need any discussion, but in view of recent expressions of opinion in the States it may be well to remark that, by repudiating concessions made to them, by tearing up their agreements, and generally doing everything to drive them away (as has been urged in certain quarters), the interests of the United States would not be advanced. By lessening the amount of capital already invested in the islands, and above all by shaking general confidence in their *bonâ fides*, they would materially retard progress. It is only by the liberal introduction of foreign capital that the Philippines can be developed, and this must be accomplished without interfering with the rights of the natives, or of foreigners who have interests in the islands.

The Currency question is another problem which demands solution. At present a Custom tax of ten per cent. on all Mexican silver has been imposed to maintain the ratio of two to one. There seems to be a unanimous opinion that to place the islands on a gold basis immediately would be injurious to trade, and at the same time

there is considerable inconvenience in the mixed currency, and fluctuations are disturbing. Legislation has attempted to remedy this by compelling the banks to receive American money at two to one, and a strong recommendation which will probably be carried into effect is that a national bank should be established under United States laws, with an ample capital. At present the most important banks are branches of the British "Hong Kong and Shanghai" and "Chartered" banks.

It will be seen that the United States are only on the threshold of the difficulties that await them in their new phase of Oriental expansion. There seems to be a somewhat general impression in Great Britain, and in English-speaking communities abroad, that the Americans have hitherto met with little success in dealing with the Philippines. With this view the writer cannot agree. There have been plenty of mistakes, but when we consider the circumstances under which the United States embarked on the undertaking — the novelty, the absence of any special machinery, and the peculiar local conditions — it must be allowed by an impartial critic that much has already been accomplished. The man on the spot, particularly, has acquitted himself on the whole very well, and whatever there has been of failure has been chiefly due to the politicians and sentimentalists at home. The revival of the insurrection which took place in the autumn of 1901 was largely due to the demand that troops should be sent home and the Philippines made over (theoretically) to peaceful self-government.

Those who know the Filipinos best, those who, like the writer, have had experience of Orientals and how

to deal with them, have considerable misgivings as to the result of this great experiment of self-government unless kept under due guidance and check. If we were to judge the Filipinos merely by professions, by phrases, by words, much might be expected from them, but our anticipations of the future must be based on their essential character and the performances of the past. Jealousies, intrigues, corruption, the ingrained conviction that every office-holder is justified in squeezing all he can — the man who did not would in their opinion have something uncanny about him — these are not promising features in the experiment. It will take them some time to believe that the Americans, or any one, can be honest, for they had seen nothing else in their Spanish officials but squeezing to the utmost limit.

The needful thing is a firm, consistent policy to be framed and carried through by the men on the spot, who are at all events aware of the difficulties in the path. It would have been far better to have from the outset a definite system of control. Of high-sounding professions and vague promises the Filipinos have had more than enough, and what was desired was a plain and precise engagement from the United States. When Civil Government was being discussed and explained in the various islands, there was a tendency to defer too much (outwardly) to the opinion of the local Filipinos. It would have been better to say frankly, once for all, "We have come to give you the government we think best for you, a government that will be just and liberal, but a government that must be obeyed."

What is now wanted is not further statements as to the actual number of pagans in certain districts, or the percentage of immorality among the Friars, but experi-

ence and judgment in dealing with matters as they stand at present. All the information which can be had by cross-examining untruthful witnesses has been already collected, and the bones of the discussions are picked bare. Let America make up her mind broadly as to her future relations to the Archipelago, and then let her put her faith in the men who have already devoted so much of their time to the problem. To send another commission would be merely to increase the number of smatterers. The best authority on the Philippines at present can be little more, but he knows something, and he is improving every day he spends in the islands. In Judge Taft America has a man thoroughly capable of facing the situation if supported from home. He cannot perform miracles, and he is bound to make mistakes, but he is open to conviction, and that is an important thing. If given anything like a free hand, and not bothered and harassed by congressmen, or reports from politicians who have taken a run out to Manila and found mares' nests, he will do very well. The ideal treatment, one which would have saved trouble, expense, and failure, would have been a temporary military government, gradually merging into purely civil administration. This is apparently judged out of the question, owing to the sentimental objections of the electorate in the States, which is so anxious not to hurt the feelings of the "little brown brother." This being the case, and a system having been inaugurated of quasi-independence, the advice of an onlooker who has seen a good deal of government in Oriental countries is to interfere as little as possible with the customs, prejudices, and religion of the Filipinos, and to keep a tight hold.

The selection of the first Governor-General has been a

fortunate one. Judge Taft, who has won golden opinions from every side, is peculiarly the stamp of man to deal successfully with the Philippines. To recall such a man, even for the purpose of consulting him, seems to be a most unwise step, for the chief thing to impress the Filipino, and — what is more important — the chief means of evolving order out of chaos, of making the Philippines a prosperous country, is to avoid any sign of change, and especially of interference with the man at the helm — swopping horses while you are crossing the stream is always false policy.

THE INDISPENSABLE CARABAO AND CART

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE PACIFIC

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

ALASIA
150
160
170
BISMARCK
ARCHIPELAGO
New Ireland
New Britain
SOLOMON ISLANDS
Choiseul I.
Bougainville
New Georgia
Guadalcanar I.
Malayta I.
San Christoval
Santa Cruz Is.
Louisiade Arch.
CORAL SEA
Espiritu Santo
Malicollo
NEW HEBRIDES
Loyalty Islands
NEW CALEDONIA
Norfolk I.
Lord Howe I.
Ball's Pyramid
GILBERT ISLANDS
Nameless I.
LAGOON OR ELLICE Is
Jesus I.
Hudson I.
Netherland I.
Independence I.
Sophia L.
Rotumah
FIJI IS
Vanua Levu
Yasawa Group
Vitilevu
Kandavu
Tropic of Capricorn
PACIFIC OCEAN
Sydney to Noumea 1077
Sydney to Suva 1733
Sydney to Apia 2354
Melbourne to Suva
Auckland to Honolulu
Sydney to Auckland 1284
Sydney to Wellington 1290
Melbourne to Auckland 1351
Hobart to Auckland 1351
Hobart to Wellington
Melbourne to Bluff Harb. 1200
Hobart to Bluff Harb. 950
NORTH ISLAND
New Plymouth
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
WELLINGTON
SOUTH ISLAND
Christchurch
Dunedin
Stewart I.
TASMANIA
Hobart
Launceston
Melbourne
Albert
Victoria
SOUTH WALES
Sydney & Port Jackson
Newcastle
Brisbane
Moreton Bay
Port Curtis
Port Denison
Port Bowen
Port Essington
Port Darwin
Bathurst
Melville I.
Arnhem B.
Van Diemen G.
Timor Sea
Arafura Sea
Coral Sea
Tasman Sea
Bounty I.
Snares
Auckland Is.
Campbell I.
Macquarie I.
Norfolk I.
Lord Howe I.
Ball's Pyramid
Kermadec Is.
Tonga Is.
Fiji Is.
Samoa Is.
Society Is.
Marquesas Is.
Low Archipelago
Paumotu Archipelago
Gambier Is.
Pitcairn I.
Easter I.
Juan Fernandez Is.
Sala y Gomez I.
Galapagos Is.
Cocos I.
Malpelo I.
Gorgona I.
Gallinas Pt.
Panama
Chiriqui
Nicaragua
Honduras
Yucatan
Mexico
Lower California
Cape Horn
Cape Pillar
Cape Farewell
Cape Maria Van Diemen
Cape Reinga
Cape Egmont
Cape Palliser
Cape Campbell
Cape Foulwind
Cape Saunders
Cape Turnagain
Cape Kidnappers
Cape Runaway
Cape Colville
Cape Brett
Cape Wrath
Cape Leeuwin
Cape Otway
Cape Howe
Cape Byron
Cape Moreton
Cape Capricorn
Cape Hillsborough
Cape Grafton
Cape Tribulation
Cape York
Torres Str.
Endeavour Str.
Dampier Str.
Bass Str.
Foveaux Str.
Cook Str.
Banks Pen.
Hokianga
Kaipara Harbour
Manukau Harbour
Waitemata
Hauraki Gulf
Bay of Plenty
Poverty B.
Hicks Bay
Gisborne
Napier
Wanganui
Manawatu
Wellington
Nelson
Greymouth
Westport
Hokitika
Timaru
Oamaru
Port Chalmers
Invercargill
Otago Harbour
Lyttelton
Akaroa
Kaikoura
Cook Strait
Canterbury Plains
Southern Alps
Mount Cook
Mount Egmont
Mount Ruapehu
Mount Tongariro
Mount Taranaki
Mount Kosciusko
Mount Wellington
Mount Lyell
Mount Gambier
Mount Barker
Mount Lofty
Mount Remarkable
Mount Arapiles
Mount Macedon
Mount Buffalo
Mount Hotham
Mount Feathertop
Mount Bogong
Mount Kaputar
Mount Warning
Mount Lindesay
Mount Barney
Mount Lamington
Mount Victoria
Mount Hagen
Mount Yule
Mount Owen Stanley
Mount Obree
Mount Victoria
Mount Albert Edward
Mount Maguire
Mount Suckling
Mount Balbi
Mount Dayman
Mount Astrolabe

A SCENE IN NEW ZEALAND

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW AUSTRALASIA

In our consideration of Great Britain's position in the Pacific it is natural that we should give the first place to Australia, albeit that continent is a power of mushroom growth compared with other British possessions. For on the possibilities of this newest of continents depends very largely the future of the Pacific Ocean, and indeed, as the writer hopes to show, the forthcoming struggle will largely take its colour from the developments in the United States of America and the Federal Commonwealth of Australia, both democratic Powers of the most pronounced character. A hundred — nay fifty — years ago such a condition of affairs would have seemed beyond the realms of possibility. We have traced briefly the course of exploration and discovery in the Pacific up to the time that Captain Cook explored

the east and north-east coast of the *Terra Australis* and hoisted the British flag. Dampier, another Englishman, had visited the northwest in 1688, and to him belongs the honour of being the first Englishman to set foot on Australian soil; but until the explorations of Captain Cook little interest was taken in the new continent, and the first use to which it was put was to make a convict settlement at Port Jackson, on the coast he had explored, presumably on account of its immense distance from civilisation and isolation from all other European colonies. It was not till a few years later that Tasmania was circumnavigated, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century a systematic coast survey began, which lasted for some forty or fifty years before the coasts could be considered properly charted, so vast was the area to be examined. Inland exploration began in 1813, and continued more or less steadily, but not till 1844 was any determined effort made to pierce the interior.

This is not the place in which to tell the story of Australian exploration; suffice it to say that the scrub-covered plains have swallowed their victims just as have the sandy deserts of the Sahara, and that in pluck, enterprise, and endurance, the Australian explorers have equalled those of any other region, though the monotony of the country and lack of picturesque material for writing, such as provide African travellers with endless thrilling adventures, have made their fame more local and their exploits of little interest to the outer world. While many talented men have given their lives to the task of exploring darkest Australia, one at least must be mentioned because of the immediate and practical value of the journey he accomplished without the

loss of a single life, and because to him belongs the distinction of making the first journey from south to north by unbeaten tracks right through the heart of the continent. In 1861 MacDonall Stuart left Adelaide and eight months later reached the northern coast, at the point near the river Adelaide which has since been made the starting-point for the overland telegraph. This journey pointed the route for the telegraph line from south to north, which by means of the cable through Java, connects the remotest parts of Australia with the outside world.

It is well known that for quite half a century after its coasts had become fairly familiar to Europe, Australia was regarded as a country of no worth on account of its arid and rainless character. In 1804 another convict settlement was established in Tasmania, and apparently even the exquisite climate and natural advantages of that island did not arouse much interest in the mother country. The Tasmanian settlers had to defend themselves pretty constantly against the attacks of the aborigines, who were rather better able to defend their rights than the Australian natives.

Thus began the nineteenth century in this continent, and before going any further it is necessary to describe briefly the nature of the country which was so tardily settled by Europeans. In size Australia is one-fifth less than Europe and about the size of the United States excluding Alaska. In climate it presents great varieties. The north is tropical, almost to the extent of being uninhabitable for the white man, while the coasts of the east, south, and west enjoy fine and healthy climates, varying in the degree of heat during the summer but having bracing winters. Snow is found on

the mountains, reaching a much lower level than in European Alpine regions. Speaking roughly, Australia may be said to suffer chiefly from sudden changes, alternate droughts and floods; the former, however, being the most prevalent. The chief mountain range skirts the east coast, and provides a watershed for rivers flowing east and south, of a size and importance equal to the great waterways of America, but on the west the rivers are small and scarce. The centre of the continent, and a vast region lying to the west of the centre, is an almost impenetrable desert covered with thick scrub, through which a path must be cut, or with the terrible *spinifex* grass, which cuts and wounds the feet of men and beasts, and is too much even for the patience and endurance of camels.

The proportion which this uninhabitable and useless land bears to the whole is almost impossible to estimate, for, besides the areas covered with the intractable growths already mentioned, there are others, equally barren, which might be improved by irrigation. In such a riverless country this seemed hopeless; but the geological formation of Australia pointed to the possibility of obtaining water by means of artesian wells, and this has been successfully tried. With canals and the scientific utilisation of the head-waters of rivers before they become absorbed, much of the land now set aside as useless may be utilised for pasture and agricultural purposes.

Australia, therefore, in the early part of the century, was a mystery, and one which promised little as the guerdon for unriddling. People at home heard of the hot scorching winds which blew from the interior, of the droughts, of the wild and repulsive race who inhabited the land, and they thought it a good dumping-ground for

their criminals — and that was all. Nevertheless, the not-to-be-repressed colonising spirit in the Anglo-Saxon race was at work, and little bands of men found their way to the new country.

If the theory of one of the greatest authorities on the subject is to be believed, these were not the first of Cau-

RAINFALL MAP OF AUSTRALIA

casian stock who had set foot on these shores. Australia was already peopled with aborigines who, although considered among the lowest in the human scale, have affinities with our own race more clearly marked than with either the Mongolian or Negroid. So early, how-

ever, must have been the period at which these people were cut off from the rest of the world that they had none of the arts found among other primitive races, such as building proper shelters (their huts being of a most temporary and elementary nature), making pottery, or working metals. In appearance they are most unprepossessing, with skin dark, though never sooty black, hair curled but not frizzled (two characteristics which distinguish them alike from negroes and Papuans), while their noses are long, straight, and narrow at the root, their eyebrows prominent, their figures meagre but inclined to corpulency, and they display the absence of calf noticeable among all primitive and degenerate people. Among their distinguishing features are the extremely low position of their women, who are horribly maltreated and have not the vestige of a right; their respect for the law of property, which, with a horror of consanguineous marriages seems to be their only moral sense (both probably the unconscious evolution of centuries of lawless living); and their practice of cannibalism in its most horrible form, since children have been known to be eaten by their fathers when other animal food was scarce. Their only occupation, diversion, and *raison d'être* is the search for food, which they obtain from all sources — game, fruits, fish, roots, bark, reptiles, insects, and indeed almost everything animal or vegetable. They practise no agricultural arts and depend entirely upon nature for sustenance, moving from place to place according to the seasons.

These people are decreasing in numbers, and although efforts have been made in some parts to tame and civilise them, and individual cases are quoted of natives who have shown characteristics worthy of preservation,

it is generally conceded that they serve no useful purpose, and that the European does them no injustice in utilising the country which they merely denude to provide their material wants. Nevertheless, this race, whose antiquity must exceed that of almost any other on the face of the globe, may outlive another of the same stock and a much higher grade — the Maoris, of whom an account will be given in the description of New Zealand — for the degenerate, nomadic "black fellows," as they are termed, can live in a country impossible to the white man, and so will continue to wander over the interior of the continent unmolested for some time to come.

Such, very briefly, were the physical and climatic conditions and the aborigines of the continent of Australia, and we have seen already that for the first half of the nineteenth century the European settlers, who seventy years ago amounted to only some 80,000, 20,000 being convicts, did little more than fix their dwellings on some of the more convenient spots on the coast, where they lived an entirely pastoral life.

By the year 1840 the principal settlement of New South Wales had achieved a certain degree of prosperity, and succeeded in preventing the further transportation of convicts to her limits, which at that time practically included the whole eastern side of Australia. In 1851 the discovery was made which was so largely to influence the history of the continent — gold was found near Bathurst. An immediate rush of colonists ensued, and in the same year a second era was marked by the separation of the southernmost part of the colony under the name of Victoria. The north was separated eight years later and took the name of Queensland. The colony of

South Australia had been founded some time previous to this, in 1836, by emigrants sent out by the South Australian Colonisation Association, and was never used as a convict station. Its title is quite delusive, as it practically includes the whole of the centre of Australia, and not only the south. Western Australia was occupied at the end of 1825 by a small body of soldiers and convicts, hurriedly sent there to prevent the suspected designs of France upon that part of the coast. By the middle of the last century the colony had prospered so little that a request was made for convicts, just at the time that New South Wales had succeeded, after nearly coming to a rupture with the Home Government, in excluding them. In 1868 the transportation system ceased altogether.

The story of the gold rush of the fifties and sixties is too familiar to need repetition. Australia, while still ranking high — indeed third — among the gold-producing countries of the world, has fortunately other resources, and is, moreover, in many parts a true white man's country, so that the phenomenon we have to deal with is not that of some mining centres — rapid development, and then stagnation or equally rapid decay. Australia's growth has been so extraordinary that her history is almost like a fairy tale. The gold rush did much towards bringing in capital and population, but she has a surer and more permanent source of prosperity, and it is chiefly to the fact that Britons were able to settle on the soil that she owes her present position. At the present time the wealth of the country is estimated at £78,000,000, of which pastoral accounts for £30,000,000, agriculture £28,000,000, and mining £20,000,000. The three sources of wealth are, moreover, distributed pretty

equally in all the States. The population is three and a quarter millions.

It is not the writer's intention to describe in detail any part of this vast continent, since that would be a work of supererogation in view of the many lucid and exhaustive accounts which are at the disposal of every reader. The genesis of the various States has been mentioned, and the writer can only permit himself a rapid glance over the chief characteristics of each.

First comes New South Wales, the northern State, justly proud of her exquisite harbour in which nestles Sydney, famous among the beautiful cities of the world; of her varied scenery, with mountains and romantic river gorges in one part and, in another, vast rolling plains where feed her countless flocks; of her vineyards and orangeries crowning the sheltered slopes of her curious walled-in valleys, such as was the hiding-place of the redoubtable Captain Starlight; of her race-course; of her fine buildings and many other features of which any State might boast. New South Wales has, indeed, a goodly heritage.

Smallest of all the States is Victoria, divided by a range of mountains, with splendid forests, grand and romantic scenery made impressive by the extinct peaks of volcanoes. Although gold, the magnet which first drew men to her, still remains the principal source of wealth, there is a considerable area used for pasturage, and the timber is some of the finest in the world. Melbourne, perhaps the finest city in Australia, the ninth in importance in the British Empire, and one of the best built in the world, is distinguished not only by its splendid buildings, fine streets, parks, botanical gardens, observatory, and good water supply, but by the encouragement

given to education, literature, and art. The Melbourne University ranks high, there are numerous scholarships, and the artistic and musical life of the city are its pride and joy.

To South Australia belongs the distinction of having equipped the expedition which pioneered the route for the telegraph from south to north. The execution of this work is a great credit to the State, which is perhaps not so flourishing financially as others. Much of the enormous area it covers is useless scrub, much more will yet be reclaimed by the boring of artesian wells. Meanwhile Adelaide, the capital, is a model city, surrounded by a belt of green parks through which one walks to reach the suburbs. South Australia suffers from the hot winds which blow from the central deserts.

Queensland, the youngest colony, lies half within the tropics, and its northern parts are trying to the white man. The long coast-line is dotted with beautiful coral islands, and the Great Barrier reef stretches almost the whole length of it. Besides the coast-district, rich and varied, and having a heavy rainfall in the north, there are large pastoral areas, but behind these, and stretching away into the mysterious interior, is the Never-Never Land of thick monotonous scrub. Brisbane, the capital, is a handsome town, and has a viceregal lodge celebrated as one of the best in any English colony.

The settled part of Western Australia is at present a mere fringe on the desert, and yet it possesses many natural advantages. The climate is said to be the best in the continent, and Perth is a pleasant town situated on a fine river, and with good convict-built roads and public buildings. The sandy wastes, so distressful to the agriculturist, are in spring covered with gorgeous flowers,

AUSTRALIAN BUSH SCENERY

but the crying need on the uplands and in the mining centres is water. Reference will be made hereafter to the ambitious schemes for supplying this deficiency. From this part of the continent, somewhat paradoxically, come the finest and largest trees, equal to, and even exceeding in size, the giants of California and Canada.

Last of all comes Tasmania, that lovely, unfortunate, island — unfortunate because despite every gift of nature, an exquisite climate, mountain scenery hardly to be surpassed, and a beautiful coast; despite fertility, the presence of minerals and many other advantages, prosperity has tarried on her way, and will not fling her riches into Tasmania's lap. Nevertheless, life must be pleasant in this fairest of islands, and one feels regret that the coming of the white man should have been so fatal to the aborigines, who have entirely died out. They appear in many things to have been superior to the Australian aborigines and probably belonged to a different race. Their country has not only passed into the hands of the white man, but is becoming more and more English in appearance. English country-houses, gardens, fields, hedges — all combine to produce an effect which is almost incredible when we realise that England and Tasmania are as wide apart as they well can be.

Of the extremely interesting zoology and botany of Australia there is no space here to write, nor is an amateur justified in dwelling on these subjects so ably handled by experts, but if any one has not thought it worth while to give a few hours to the subject, let him pick up a handbook and read therein of birds who make bowers, and terraces round trees, decorating them with flowers and feathers; of the curious creature — a sort of link between mammalia and reptilia — which lays

eggs and hatches its young and then suckles them, being itself a flat four-footed animal with a species of beak and no teeth; of a bird which builds mounds fifteen feet high, in which it buries its eggs; and of the peculiar habits of the marsupials. As for flowers, Australia is rich indeed in these; before he lands, the visitor to Sydney can see the flame trees on the hills behind shining like fire, while the beautiful eucalyptus, the curious orchids, and characteristic pitcher-plants are all as interesting as they are beautiful. It is well known that the Australian fauna and flora are a distinct group, and though they have affinities in other parts of the globe, not only many of the species but the genera of both are more or less peculiar.

Until the year 1901 the States of Australia, having one by one achieved responsible government (Queensland never knew any other), were under the British crown as autonomous colonies. Their governments were all modelled on the same plan, and consisted of a Governor, nominated by the Crown, and two Chambers, one called the Council (in most of the colonies nominated by the Governor) and the other a representative assembly elected by the people. The franchise is practically on a manhood suffrage, except in Tasmania, where there is a property qualification. In South Australia the franchise has been extended to women, while in Queensland the principle of "one man, one vote" will shortly be introduced into the electorate system. This is the only colony where a large number of aliens is found.

Victoria, the most democratic of the States, elects both her Houses. South Australia and Tasmania pay the members of both Houses the sums of £200 and £100 per annum respectively, while New South Wales,

GROUP OF AUSTRALIAN NATIVES

Victoria, and Queensland pay £300 per annum to the members of the Lower House only, and Western Australia pays nothing at all. Under the new constitution there is a Federal Executive Council presided over by a Governor-General appointed by the Crown. There are two Houses: the Senate consisting of members from each colony, elected for six years; and the House of Representatives, which consists of members elected from each colony in proportion to the population, with a minimum of five. The franchise is on the basis existing already in each colony, and the members of both Houses are paid at the rate of £400 per annum. Although the Federal Parliament is supreme there are various safeguards for the private interests of each colony. For instance, the Federal Government cannot make railways through a colony without its permission. The right of appeal to the Privy Council in matters affecting the Constitution was a question long debated and fought over in the mother country. Eventually the Australians carried their point, and the judgment of the High Court is considered final, though it reserves the power to appeal, if deemed desirable. Excise and Customs duties will be taken over by the Federal State after two years, and a uniform system of tariffs applied, while intercolonial traffic is to be free.

So far, it will be noticed, nothing has been said of New Zealand, although those islands are usually bracketed with the continent. The reason is that New Zealand must be regarded quite by herself, for neither physically nor historically can she be considered as part of Australia.

The two long-shaped islands with a small pendant

known as New Zealand are regarded by scientists as being among the oldest, if not *the* oldest, islands on the face of the globe. At some extremely remote period they attained their present isolation, and from that time to this they have retained certain peculiarities in their zoology and botany which mark them out from the rest of the world. The flora is to a great extent peculiar and lacking in the most widespread characteristic species found to-day in Australia, while the characteristic mam-

A NEW ZEALAND RIVER

mals of that continent are missing, and indeed mammals of any sort are not indigenous to New Zealand. These facts alone prove the long-continued isolation of the latter, and in the case of the bird life, which is naturally more easily transplanted, the same phenomena are largely repeated. One of the curiosities of New Zealand is the wingless bird, with feathers like hairs, which is supposed to have evolved in the course of many centuries because of the scarcity of mammals, which enabled it to seek its

food on the ground. Enormous specimens of this bird have been found in the fossil state, but only a small species survives.

New Zealand, too, was not peopled by the same aboriginal race as Australia at the time of its discovery by the white man, but was the home of a branch of that ancient Caucasian race which ages ago found its way to the Pacific and is known as the Polynesian. In New Zealand they are called Maoris, and here, in a fine climate and a beautiful country, they had attained to a perfection of form and a height of civilisation unequalled among savage people. Their clothing was beautifully worked, their houses decorated with elaborate carvings, they had many utensils and weapons made of metal and elaborately worked. Their character has won them much admiration and regard, while their light colour, good features, and graceful figures make them compare favourably with any race. Withal they had no written language, did not know the art of making pottery, and were, like the majority of Polynesians, cannibals. It is possible that these people may have assimilated another race of still greater antiquity, since traces of darker skin and frizzled hair are to be seen. They do not seem able to survive contact with the white man. Everywhere in the Pacific, from Hawaii and Easter Island to New Zealand (roughly speaking, a triangle which includes the principal Polynesian islands), they are dying out with more or less rapidity. This is not only due to the diseases and vices which the white man brings with him, for all witnesses agree that the Polynesian droops and flags under European contact and control, losing his zest in life. May it not be that, aroused from his long, happy childhood of irresponsible carelessness, and brought face

to face, however gently, with the modern problems of existence, this true child of Nature loses heart, has not the courage to face this new world of knowledge and its incumbent responsibilities?

Besides its peculiar fauna, flora, and native inhabitants, New Zealand possesses a climate and physical characteristics quite different to that of Australia. There is naturally a great variety of climate in islands which extend over such an area, but on the whole there are

A NEW ZEALAND GARDEN

few extremes, being mild and bracing, with an abundant rainfall and windy coasts. Every traveller is struck by the extremely English appearance of the landscape, and this increases year by year as English plants, shrubs, and grass are introduced and eat up the native growths. Of all the beautiful islands of the globe, even Japan and Java are not more beautiful than New Zealand, with its great masses of fern, rolling plains, beautiful rivers, and background of mountains often snow-clad. The North

island may be briefly described as consisting first of fertile well-watered valleys and second of gently sloping hill ranges, with low-lying tablelands. The scenery is broken by volcanic peaks like that of Java, and through the centre of the island run hot springs and wells. From the narrow strait between the islands can be seen the majestic pile of Mount Egmont, an almost perfect cone, capped with snow and rising to over eight thousand feet. The South island has on its west a high mountain range, where the dweller on the coast after the heat of summer can betake himself, and refresh his soul amid grand snowfields, glaciers, and snow-clad peaks. Mountain streams rush down through picturesque ravines, and water the slopes which sink in terraces towards the east coast. It must be noticed that there is none of the wide, flat country which is at once the bane and the blessing of Australia, including as it does splendid pasture-lands and hopeless deserts. Neither, in consequence, are there hot winds and tropical summers, nor tropical flowers and forests. The characteristics of New Zealand are the masses of fern and the park-like, grassy slopes.

Such was the country which in 1840 became the property of Britain. Before that date it had been merely the Alsatia of Australia. Besides a motley crowd of more or less ne'er-do-wells, and worse, there were only a handful of missionaries and a few whalers and traders in New Zealand to represent Europe. At the time of the accession of Queen Victoria little was known of the country save for its reputation in Australia as harbouring her outcasts, and it was not till 1839 that a party of emigrants was actually sent out. It was the formation of a French Company under Louis Philippe for its acquisition which led to steps being taken to forestall the

French and place New Zealand under the British flag. It is said that these steps were only just taken in time, and that a few days more would have made New Zealand a French possession.

Besides the agricultural and pastoral possibilities of the country thus barely saved to Britain, there is an output of gold which rivals that of the richest States of Australia, and this at one time drew a certain number of miners from that continent. But with few exceptions all the colonists came straight from the mother country, and while forming one of the most advanced democracies in the world have retained a very large proportion of their national characteristics. It is said by a distinguished New Zealander that he and his people speak with the same accent, wear the same clothes, read the same papers, and laugh over the same jokes as the average Briton at home, and at the same time may be seen in New Zealand that curious provincialism, noticeable also in Canada, which makes one place Scotch, with the speech, habits, and idiosyncrasies of the northern race, while another is peculiarly English, and, as a rule, of the Wessex type, which every Englishman knows is quite different to that of the Cockney or the North country. Australia, on the contrary, is peopled by a race whose British blood is undergoing some process which makes of it a race distinct, apart. The Queenslander and the Victorian may have points of difference, but to the ordinary observer they present but one type both in physique, morale, and speech, and that type is no longer British but Australian — a type of which Britain may justly be proud, as "born of her blood," but in which she realises the working of a new force. Speaking generally, no such distinction separates the New Zealander from

his English and Scotch cousins. I have said little of the Irish element because it does not show any tendency to segregate itself, but disperses throughout the whole with (possibly) an amiable desire to leaven the whole lump. An Irishman is at home everywhere — except in Ireland. Notwithstanding the affinity between New Zealand and the old country it is a singular fact that the democracy of the former is the most advanced in the world. The State provides advances to settlers, old-age

WELLINGTON: NEW ZEALAND

pensions, compulsory arbitration, Government insurance, and a Public Trust department.

All these circumstances give very real weight to the objections which have prevented New Zealand hitherto from joining the Federation, but an important fact is the distance of New Zealand from Australia. It looks small on the map, but from Sydney to Wellington — the shortest route — takes no less than six days, being a distance of 1200 miles.

Before turning to the many problems, social and political, which face the newly Federated Commonwealth, we

must glance briefly at the other British possessions which have been grouped for convenience sake under the term Australasia. It may be said here that they owe their importance chiefly to their position between Australia and the two other continents with Pacific coasts.

New Guinea, which lies directly to the north of Australia, is the largest island in the world, and, although three Powers have divided it, remains to a great extent still unexplored. It is regarded as the cradle of the black race known as Papuan, who are the aborigines of a number of the island groups of the Pacific, being sandwiched, as it were, between the Polynesians on the east and the Malays on the west. The Papuans, though extremely dark of skin, have many characteristics which separate them widely from the Negroid. Their features are marked, with prominent eye-brows and long hooked nose, the latter being rendered more remarkable by the habit of sticking a piece of bone or wood through the cartilage between the nostrils. In character the Papuan is lively, excitable, and noisy, extremely fond of dancing, and apparently possessing artistic instincts, since he decorates not only his person with flowers and beads but his houses, household implements, and gods with well-executed carving. Some tribes are notable for the carving they bestow on their *praus*, but the average Papuan is not a water lover, and cautiously crawls round his coasts. The distinguishing peculiarity of the Papuan is his hair, which is extremely stiff and closely frizzled; it is grown long, made to form an immense stiff mass standing straight out all round the head, and is decorated in various ways. The Papuans vary considerably in different parts, and have been modified by intermarriage with Malays and Polynesians, but this peculiarity of hair is

said to be always constant. Many of the Papuans are still cannibals, and are extremely hostile to foreigners, parts of New Guinea being still considered unsafe for white men to travel through without protection. Some extraordinary customs are found among some of the tribes, for instance, that of immuring girls in cages, kept inside special houses for five years, from the age of five or eight until they are considered marriageable. Though only taken out once a day, the custom is said not to affect their health. There are tribes in which both sexes go totally naked; others dye their hair red or magenta — a custom usually supposed to be one of the effete practices of ultra-civilisation; some build round houses and others conical ones, like roofs without walls. But all may be roughly generalised as savages in a low state of civilisation, and, although some investigators are inclined to rate their intelligence high, it must be confessed that the results of mission labour among them have not been such as to warrant a very sanguine opinion as to their future. We are chiefly concerned with them as possible labourers, and the experiment has been tried of importing native labour from the New Hebrides to Queensland. Opinions vary as to the moral effect of compulsory labour on

A PAPUAN CHIEF

the Papuan, but the weight of evidence is against it. In any case the supply is not equal to the demand, and under the Exclusion Act all coloured labour is to be stopped, and the Papuan would be fully employed in his own islands if he could only be elevated to a higher plane and taught the arts of agriculture, manufacture, and so forth.

New Guinea is extremely mountainous, containing peaks of 10,000 to 13,000 feet, the highest of any between the Himalayas and the Andes. The country is broken and gashed by gorges, and the scenery in many parts is imposing. Each of the three territories, British, Dutch, and German, is provided with large rivers, which may be useful for navigation later on, but are at present too little explored.

The history of New Guinea from 1829, the date to which we have already traced it (when a small Dutch settlement at Triton Bay was given up), was briefly this. French, Dutch, and English explorers charted its shores, tried to penetrate its rivers, and viewed its mountains; the naturalist Wallace visited the north coast, and with no protection save his Malay servants lived there four and a half months; missionaries, English and Dutch, established themselves in the south, and so great was the fascination of this isle of mystery upon men of science that Russian, German, Italian, and Swiss travellers visited it. In 1884, when the scramble for colonies was at its height, Germany and France began to turn their eyes towards the Pacific. By this time the youthful colonies of Australia and New Zealand, usually somewhat at variance about matters of policy, were united by a common grievance — the refusal of the Home Government to listen to their request for protec-

tion against the immigration of Chinese. A scheme for joint action, devised in 1881, was under consideration at this juncture, when the German Press began to advocate the annexation of the whole of New Guinea and further acquisitions in the Pacific, and a German Company was actually founded to colonise the island. So convinced were the colonists that the establishment of a foreign Power close to their shores would be fatal to their interests, that Queensland sent agents to take possession in the name of Great Britain, an action which met with the approval of all the other colonies, but was not confirmed by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Derby. Pressure was brought to bear by the colonists, who urged not only the annexation of New Guinea, but the prohibition of convict transportation to New Caledonia by France, and in effect the entire control of the Western Pacific by Great Britain. These demands were flatly refused, but the action of Germany in seizing part of Northern New Guinea while these negotiations were still pending — a piece of very sharp practice — hastened matters, and the Government of the day under Mr. Gladstone at last gave way so far as to consent to the annexation of the southern side of New Guinea nearest to Australia. A line was drawn on a map showing to what degree of latitude British influence should extend. The delegates to the Colonial Conference of 1887 regarded this with some astonishment when they found that it actually cut off the southernmost portion of the island, and the Louisiade Archipelago, its continuation. They remonstrated with the Secretary of State. "It's no use," he replied, "the Old Man won't budge!" But the Louisiade Archipelago was even more incapable of budging, and the colonists got their way in the end. It is usually said

that the desire to protect the natives of New Guinea against foreigners was the chief motive for British annexation, but the true reason, as has been shown, was the pressure brought to bear by the Australian colonists, and the story is an instructive one as showing the divergence of view in such a question between the colonies and the mother country. Now that Australia is practically free to pursue an independent policy we may expect some very different line of action. The New Guinea question, coupled with that of New Caledonia, first gathered the colonies into a Federal Council and helped greatly to pave the way for the Commonwealth.

The Dutch annexation of New Guinea was characteristic. By an ancient treaty with a Malay rajah who ruled in one of the adjacent islands of the Moluccas, they acquired a protectorate over the greater part of Western New Guinea, which was nominally subject to him. The boundaries were undefined, and were only fixed on the British and German occupation. The Dutch side of New Guinea, like their territory in Borneo, is the best part of the island, with good harbours, fertile highlands, and a considerable trade with the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Germany has a mountainous and rugged portion, remote from any civilised port, but apparently valuable to her as a *pied-à-terre* in the Pacific, and a sort of base for her smaller and more scattered possessions. The British portion is on the whole low-lying ground and very malarial. The climate generally is extremely unhealthy, the excess of moisture making a degree of heat which is tolerable in Northern Australia, but quite insupportable here. The true value of New Guinea lies, no doubt, in its strategic position, but the soil is very fertile, the country is in many parts covered with

virgin forests, and there are also believed to be considerable stores of minerals, whose possibilities cannot be gauged until the country is better known. The Dutch are quite content to sit still in their territory and permit the native to go on his way unmolested so long as their petty trade is not interfered with. New Guinea is perhaps the one of their possessions which exhibits them in the least favourable light, probably because in all the others they had to deal with a far more civilised race than the Papuans, and one that could not so well be left alone.

The capital of the British territory is Port Moresby, which possesses a good harbour, and is said to be healthier than most of the coast. In appearance it is rather forlorn, being treeless, surrounded by barren plains, and having a very insufficient water supply. The only regular steam-communication is from Sydney to Port Moresby and back by the Solomon Isles, and the whole of the import and export trade is only a little over £100,000.

Perhaps the most important British possession in the Pacific after Australia and New Zealand is the group of islands known as Fiji. This group was first colonised by escaped convicts from Norfolk Island, and other adventurous characters, but it had been previously reconnoitred by several explorers. They found beautiful tropical islands, thickly wooded, with a heavy rainfall, a temperate and healthy climate, and a peculiarly fertile soil, formed by the volcanic eruptions of which many signs remain in the jagged peaks of extinct volcanoes. The aborigines were Papuans, but more advanced in civilisation than most of their race, dwelling under a system of government in tribes, with hereditary

chiefs. The Fijians, nevertheless, are celebrated as being among the most blood-thirsty of their race, and they carry their absolute disregard of the sacredness of life to a point hardly to be equalled among savage races of the globe, and this notwithstanding—perhaps because of—a firm belief in a future life. This belief, however, is tainted by the idea that their bodies will retain the form in which they die, and rather than become wasted by sickness or old age they submit to being buried alive. A young man who fell sick requested that he might be so disposed of before he got thin and weak, but losing his resolution at the last minute asked to be strangled first. "Sit still, and be buried quietly like other people, and don't give so much trouble," was the reply, and the young man quietly obeyed. Another well-authenticated story is that one tribe of Fijians conquered another on a neighbouring islet, and the subdued tribe more than once revolted, whereupon they were condemned to be eaten by their conquerors, and were kept in their village and brought away in batches to stock the larder. Under such circumstances it is an extraordinary fact that the Fiji Islands have been one of the most fruitful fields of missionary labour, and at the present time the people are all nominally Christians, are learning to read and write, and have quite given up their anthropophagous habits, though at first, it is to be feared, they merely regarded the white missionary as a change of diet. A great deal of the influence obtained over them was by means of native teachers from Tonga, as they have much respect for the Tongans, who frequently subdued them in former days. One of the first converts was the King, who is described by an early visitor as indicating every day, in the crowd about him, which per-

SCENE IN THE FIJI ISLANDS

son he would prefer for supper, a habit which must have made the *rôle* of courtier an extremely trying one.

When the first European settlers had been a little time on the islands, and had started a rather lucrative trade with the natives in the various products of the seas and forests, they were joined by some parties of Australians of a better class, and these were from time to time recruited from the colonies. The King, after his conversion, became desirous of entering into relations with other Christian rulers, and in 1859 offered practically to sell his islands to Great Britain. After some vicissitudes and an unsettled period which could obviously not be permitted to continue, during which it became evident that the white planters needed control as much as, if not more than, the natives, the islands were formally ceded by the King to Great Britain in 1874, and became a Crown colony, the Governor of Fiji being also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

Under Great Britain the islands have been cultivated on a sort of modified "culture system" carried out through the native chiefs. This, combined with missionary efforts, has certainly civilised the natives beyond a point reached by any others of their race, but the benefits of such civilisation, even when most carefully introduced, do not prevent the South Sea islanders from succumbing to some malign influence. The health preservers of the European — sanitation, clothing, better houses and food — do not agree with the aborigines, whether Malay, Papuan, or Polynesian, and the intoxicants of Europeans are only a trifle less fatal to the islanders than the epidemics they introduce. Therefore, although at one time parts of the Fiji Islands were thickly populated, labourers at present must be imported and are

Polynesians (themselves a vanishing race) and Indian coolies. These coolies are introduced on indenture for five years, and must remain another five, when their contract is up; the Polynesians are only indentured for three years. The principal export is sugar, and the bulk of the trade is with Sydney and New Zealand.

Other British possessions in the Pacific are the Solomon islands, lying due east of British New Guinea, and five groups, which practically include all the islands by which Fiji is surrounded on the east and north, with the exception of Samoa, which lies a little to the northeast. On the west, directly between Fiji and New South Wales, lie two important groups of islands, the New Hebrides, at present under joint control of Britain and France, and New Caledonia, a French possession, used chiefly as a penal settlement. France has also several groups of islands further east, outside the belt of British interest, known as the Society, Marquesas, and Austral islands, and beyond these again are two of the loneliest and remotest of Britain's possessions: Pitcairn, the island colonised originally by the mutinous crew of the *Bounty*, and Easter island, famous for its wonderful and mysterious buildings and carvings.

Although the island of Pitcairn is interesting merely from a social point of view and has no political importance, its history is one of the most fascinating stories of the Pacific — that ocean where romance and legend are inextricably woven into real life, and where the very names of islands recall weird stories, and the blue waters hide the bones of hundreds of "ancient mariners." The crew of the *Bounty*, a British warship, mutinied in 1790, in the Southern Pacific, and set adrift their commander, Bligh, in an open boat, in which he miraculously drifted

CONICAL HUT: FIJI ISLANDS

till he reached Timor, sighting on his way many islands before unknown to sailors. The crew landed at Pitcairn, bringing with them some native Polynesian men and women whom they had picked up in another island. In a few years all the men were dead but one, who took the name of John Adams, and he, realising his responsible position, pulled himself together, organised his little community, instructed them, and so ordered their lives that fifteen years later, when accidentally re-discovered by an American ship, they were a community of some twenty to thirty living in neat houses with gardens and enclosures, happy, peaceable, and healthy, no such thing as crime being known among them and no epidemic diseases. The report was brought to England, but not till 1825 was the island visited by an English ship, when the community was in the same idyllic state and numbered sixty-five. Some years later they were deported by philanthropic people to Norfolk island, but about forty chose to return to Pitcairn, where they are still living, having considerably increased their number, and are visited at intervals by British ships. They are described in the present year as being still in a state of idyllic freedom from crime. Drink and tobacco are unknown. Some forty ships call there during the year, but only the masters go on shore, for the people guard their isolation carefully. A curious circumstance is the loss among adults of the upper front teeth; otherwise this peculiar race seems quite healthy, and it is furthermore interesting to hear that already their isolation from other English-speaking people has caused them to develop a dialect so that some can hardly understand the mother tongue.

This brief sketch will give some idea of the character

and extent of British interests in the Pacific, in which the Australians are naturally even more interested than politicians at home. Had the Federated Commonwealth come into existence earlier, it is doubtful if the United States would have been able to acquire her share of Samoa, while the present anomalous state of affairs in the New Hebrides would have been brought to an abrupt conclusion, and Germany would certainly not have had the opportunity for embarking on a policy of controlling an important section of the Pacific.

GROUP OF TONGA NATIVES

FIJI ISLANDERS AND THEIR CANOES

NEW GUINEA HUTS

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW AUSTRALASIA (*continued*)

In the triumphal hour which greeted the consummation of the Federal policy it was natural that the difficulties ahead should assume a less serious aspect than their gravity warrants. But as the Federal Government settles down to business these difficulties are rapidly assuming tangible form, and it is daily becoming more and more evident that much has to be overcome before the states of Australia can become really united. The most serious feature is the refusal of New Zealand, after mature deliberation, to join the Australian Commonwealth. The reasons of this refusal have been set forth very completely in the report of a Commission, and the writer has already enumerated most of the social and physical facts which make the smaller colony quite unlike the neighbouring continent. As regards the

political side of the question, it has been decided by New Zealand that she has nothing to gain and much to lose by union with the Commonwealth. Neither as regards legislative independence, finance, postal and telegraph services, the administration of justice, agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests, nor the social condition of the working classes and coloured labour, would New Zealand be assisted by Federation. She would moreover suffer by the enforced absence for six months of the year of some of her abler citizens, who would be attending the Commonwealth Parliament. Politicians in the colonies are a professional class by themselves as a rule, and the number of really capable men is very limited in such a young community as New Zealand.

There are two aspects of New Zealand's case that make her decision doubtful. The first is one much dwelt on by those who regard the inclusion of New Zealand as a *sine qua non* — that of defence. It is obvious that New Zealand is weakened strategically in the case of attack by her isolated position, but in answer to this the New Zealanders make two points. First, while they remain in their present status they are entitled to the protection of the British fleet, and are therefore spared the expense, hardly to be borne by such a community, of providing warships of their own. So long as Britain retains her maritime supremacy they feel safe. Secondly, in case of an attack on New Zealand, Australia would, for her own sake as well as by reason of ties of kinship, afford her every help and protection. Lest this should seem a selfish policy New Zealand expresses her readiness, of which she has given practical proof during the South African war, to help in the work of Imperial defence, and she expresses an equal

willingness to assist Australia in any difficulty, her interests being bound up with those of the continent.

The second drawback to New Zealand's isolation is concerned with the Federal tariff which has been established. The freedom of intercolonial commerce is of great importance to New Zealand, whose principal Australian trade is with Sydney, which has been for

A PAPUAN WAR CANOE

some years past a free port. The Federal Ministry, divided upon many questions, is unanimous in its determination to maintain a protectionist tariff outside the Federation. The tariff is not a hide-bound system on the American pattern, but rather a compromise between that and one designed purely for revenue purposes. The whole question is one that is likely to be keenly fought in the future, since New South Wales has a strong party of ardent Free Traders. What-

ever may be the mistakes Britain has made in her Colonial policy, she has built up her empire entirely on a basis of free and open trade; the prosperity and rapid development of Australia are largely due to this system, and it is to be hoped that her statesmen will not be blinded by the apparent exigencies of the moment to the advantages of that wide and generous policy which has been the characteristic of British trade in all quarters of the globe.

One of the first problems to be dealt with by the Federal Government is the labour question — a question which is far from being confined to this quarter of the Pacific. The magnitude and importance of this problem cannot be exaggerated. On the one hand we have lands waiting for the labourer, we have whole islands lying fallow for want of hands to till them, we have minerals waiting to be exploited. On the other hand we have the omnipresent Chinaman, ready to swarm into these lands. It seems an extremely simple situation, but mark the complications. In some of these countries white men cannot work. Well and good! The Chinese will work under his supervision; but — the ever-present "but" — there is already a native population, who ought not to be jostled out of their place on the land as the Chinese will inevitably jostle them. In others the white man can do a certain amount of work, and here he finds that the Chinese undersell him. Wherever the Chinese coolie goes he takes certain things with him, and in every country where yellow face and long pigtail are once seen they soon become too fatally familiar, — quarters spring up, opium dens are opened, and the Chinese peddler begins to make his fortune by selling at a quarter the price that every one else asks. It must not be

supposed that John, at this stage of his career, will act as emergency man — he has realised his own value too well. It is to the choicest spots, where money is being made quickly, where the precious metal is to be found and profitable work done, that he turns his face now. Impoverished Borneo starves for him, opens her arms to him, but he will not go to her. The Philippines, where the lavish Americans are going to pour out millions of dollars on public works, are more to his taste, or Queensland with her prosperous plantations and high wages.

The problem is twofold: how to keep the Chinaman out, and what to do without him.

The situation is already acute in Australia, where a great portion of one State (Queensland) is unfit for cultivation by the white man, and coloured labour is largely employed, no fewer than twenty thousand coloured aliens — Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, and Polynesians — being employed. It may be added that the Japanese are in some respects even less desirable colonists than the Chinese, as Americans are discovering in Hawaii, for they do not settle down as peacefully and have a propensity to go to law about small matters almost as strong as the litigious Hindoo.

The labour party in Australia is naturally a very strong one, and is making every effort to secure the Senate. Their programme will exclude every coloured alien, and is so sweeping that the original drafting of the recent Bill would even have excluded British overseers or a Protestant Minister from accepting an engagement under contract. The Immigration Bill is quite as drastic as any passed by the United States, though the country is not so populated as were the United States when they passed their laws. The programme of Aus-

tralia for the Australians is carried to a somewhat absurd point when politicians actually obstruct the progress of an island like New Guinea by objecting even there to coloured aliens. But enough has been said to show that, despite the very strong planter-interest brought to bear from Queensland, and the impossibility of fully developing that country without outside coloured aid, the Australians are determined to preserve their continent from what they call the contamination of the yellow and black races. The Pacific Island Labourers' Bill prohibits islanders from entering the Commonwealth after March 31, 1904, and only allows their immigration meanwhile under license. No agreement between employers and Pacific island labourers is to remain in force after December 31, 1906; any islanders found in Australia after that date are to be deported. Already restrictions on Chinese and Japanese immigration have been greatly increased, while steps are to be taken against natives of India by means of an education test. As the Hindoos are British subjects, this is sailing rather near the wind, and it is difficult to see how such measures can receive the sanction of the Imperial Government. Japan is not likely to acquiesce in the restrictions against Japanese, and she may adopt retaliatory measures. It is, of course, the man who will not do the work himself who objects most strongly to the employment of the coloured coolie, and as there is plenty of work still to be had in more congenial lines and temperate climates the Australian is not driven to take to such labour. The feeling throughout the entire southern portion of the continent is so strong that, whatever may be the sacrifices involved in the case of Queensland, there is little doubt that for the next thirty or forty years the coloured alien will be entirely excluded, until such time

A NEW GUINEA GIRL

as the growing numbers of the white man force him to turn his attention to the less developed parts of his continent. The diverging interests — between the Federal Government dependent on the white labour party and North Australia dependent on coloured labour — constitute a serious danger to the unity of the new Commonwealth.

Although settlement began in the Australian continent barely more than a century ago, and though fifty years ago Australia was merely a pastoral land with a trade of not more than £9,000,000, its trade in 1899, external and inter-colonial, had increased to no less than £161,000,000 (including New Zealand), the imports being £72,000,000 and the exports £89,000,000. So rapid has been the increase that the total trade per head of population is exceeded only in Belgium, where, however, a great part of the trade is merely in transit to and from Northwestern and Central Europe.

Classified by States, the total and inter-colonial trade was as under,[1] given in round numbers in millions sterling. Of the foreign Australian trade much the greater share is with the United Kingdom, and of the remainder

	Total Trade (Millions Sterling)	Inter-colonial Trade (Millions Sterling)
[1] New South Wales	over 54	over 21½
Victoria	37½	13½
Queensland	18½	10
South Australia	15½	7½
Western Australia	11½	5
Tasmania	4	2½
New Zealand	20½	3
	161½	63

the larger portion is with foreign countries, especially Germany, France, Belgium, and the United States. The distribution of external trade was as follows: with the United Kingdom, about 63 millions sterling, with British possessions over 9 millions, with foreign countries, 25 millions. Less than twenty years ago the European trade of Australasia, it is important to note, was almost entirely with the United Kingdom, but a great and growing change in the direction of direct commercial relations with the European Continental countries has taken place since then.

The imports from the principal countries are as follows. From the British Empire: the United Kingdom over 26 millions sterling, India and Ceylon over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, with small amounts from Canada, Fiji, Hong Kong, and the Straits bringing the total up to 30 millions. From foreign countries: the United States over 5 millions, Germany 2 millions, half a million from France and New Caledonia, and lesser amounts from Belgium, Sweden, Netherlands and Java, South Sea islands, China and Japan. The exports to the British Empire were: United Kingdom 36 millions sterling, India and Ceylon 3, Cape Colony $1\frac{1}{2}$, and lesser amounts to Canada, Fiji, and Hong Kong. To foreign countries: France and New Caledonia nearly 4 millions, Germany 3, Belgium 2, United States 3, and lesser amounts to Italy, the South Sea islands, China, and Japan.

The trade of the United Kingdom with Australasia is only just exceeded by that with India, while it is nearly double that with Canada, and is only surpassed by her commerce with three other countries, namely the United States, over 155 millions, France 75, and Germany 68.

The commerce with foreign countries is rapidly on the increase, and yearly steamers of increasing tonnage and higher speed are competing for the trade with Australasia from Europe, and new outlets are constantly being opened. Some curious facts appear regarding imports, which have increased from over £2,000,000 in 1871 to over £10,000,000 in 1899. Germany, for instance, which twenty years ago had a trade of only a little over £200,000, can now boast of one amounting to over £2,000,000, and has therefore increased tenfold, while the United States' trade has trebled in the same period. During the past eighteen years or so the annual increase with the four principal foreign countries has been: Belgium over 17 per cent., Germany 16, France and New Caledonia 10, United States under 6. As regards exports from Australasia they have increased in forty years from three-quarters of a million sterling to over £15,000,000. The progress of trade with Belgium, which stands so high in the list, is not really so great as it seems at first sight, for the wool shipped through Antwerp passes largely to Germany, France, and elsewhere.

The history of foreign steamer communication is worthy of notice. The French Messageries Maritimes commenced operations in 1883, and the North German Lloyd in 1887, other German vessels the next year beginning direct communication between the wool-exporting cities of Australia and the ports of Antwerp, Hamburg, and Dunkirk, and since then Belgium has established her own line of steamships. The latest invader, and one likely to prove a very serious competitor, is the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, which runs vessels twice a month between Japanese ports and Sydney *viâ*

Manila. As regards British lines, from British Columbia there are monthly steamers of the Canadian Pacific railway, as well as the well-known lines from England, India, Singapore, and Hong Kong. From the United States Pacific coast, namely from San Francisco, there is a line once a month. It is apparent that the attempt to divert trade direct to the continent of Europe, chiefly the result of lessons learnt earlier from the South American markets, has been very successful, and we may look for more serious developments in this direction.

The American share of the Australasian external trade in 1899 was about 34 per cent., the greater part carried on with New South Wales, Victoria, and New Zealand. The main exports are specie and wool, and in a minor degree coal, kauri gum, and New Zealand flax. The export of wool has decreased since 1891, owing to tariff charges, and with the present tariff and existing conditions as regards means of communication no great extension of trade with the United States can be anticipated.

It is therefore in the direction of India, China, Japan, Siberia, Manchuria, and the Eastern Archipelago that extension must be sought, where new markets may possibly be found and others developed. For instance, in Japan and Northern China, not to speak of the Russian territories, there must be an opening for wool, when the advantages of such a material are brought home to their people, and Japan, it is worthy of notice, has already withdrawn the duty she imposed on wool. Contrary to all expectation, a considerable business is already done with India and Ceylon, particularly in tea. At present the trade with Hong Kong and China (Hong Kong being chiefly a distributing centre for China) is in imports

over £600,000 and exports over £700,000. The trade with the South Pacific islands, chiefly with Fiji and New Caledonia, consists mainly of the importation of raw articles in exchange for Australasian produce, but the business with New Caledonia, principally from Sydney, is decreasing, owing to the heavy prohibitive tariff enforced by France. The trade with New Guinea, as already indicated, is merely in its infancy and is not likely to be developed for many years to come, while that with the Dutch East Indies and Borneo is almost nil.

Wool is still the staple product of Australasia. Of the total exported, New South Wales heads the list with over £10,000,000, New Zealand comes second with over £4,000,000, Victoria and Queensland each with over £3,000,000, and South Australia £1,500,000. The proportion of the pastoral industry in the various States chiefly concerned is: New South Wales, about 66 per cent.; New Zealand, 54 per cent.; and Queensland, 58 per cent.

If the present prospects of extending trade are largely in the direction of the Asiatic continent, the developments now at work on the Pacific slope, both in the United States and in British North America, coupled with the fresh field opened by the new departure in American policy in the Pacific, are likely to bring about a great extension of world commerce, of which Australasia should have its share. With the cutting of a trans-isthmian canal a still further impetus will be given to Pacific trade, and one of a revolutionary character, which will affect the isolated and partially opened islands, such as the Fiji group and others as yet untouched, and in these developments Australasia has the chief interest. With an eye to the future, therefore, the Australasians have

looked round. New Zealand has urged the incorporation with her of Fiji and neighbouring groups in an Island Federation; has caused the annexation of the Harvey and Cook groups; and has also strongly advocated the occupation of a suitable island further east, on the trade route of the future, which would be to Great Britain and Australasia what Honolulu and Pango-pango in Samoa are to the United States. Such an island they assert is Rapa, or Oparu, one of the Austral group, now under the protection of France, which they urge should be obtained. Here a good harbour and coal are to be had, two most important advantages, and the position — a sort of half-way house between the isthmus and Australasia — is one which offers many advantages.

With the enormous seaboard and the mere fringe occupied in Australia, it would appear at first sight that there is no great need of any but local railways to open up inaccessible districts. But with the developments occurring in the country, especially with the states joined as a Commonwealth, the need for a trans-continental line becomes more and more apparent. It seems a certainty that, even without such a railway, Sydney must become the chief harbour of Australia, on account of its great resources and the magnificent position it occupies on the continent; facing the Pacific with one of the finest harbours in the whole world and the only possible one on the east coast. Newcastle is doubtless destined to become a large manufacturing city by reason of her coal deposits, but the harbour cannot be compared with that of Sydney. The natural outlet for Australian trade in the Pacific must therefore be Sydney, and its importance is certain to be greatly accentuated by the projected trans-continental railway.

NEW ZEALAND FERNS

There are difficulties in the way, however, for this railway is opposed by some of the Eastern States and South Australia. If a line be made from Perth to Sydney across the continent, it is apparent that Adelaide must suffer very considerably, — indeed the *raison d'être* for its existence would almost disappear. Now, the Commonwealth Act forbids the Federal authority to build a railway in any State without its consent. South Australia is very unlikely ever to give its consent unless some compensating advantage can be found, and the position is therefore certain to become more and more strained. On the one hand, the northern territory is to be taken over from South Australia by the Federal Government, which will probably lead to a railway being made to Port Darwin, a line advocated as preferable to the Western one on general grounds and as a measure of defence of great importance. On the other, the Western Australians threaten to break up the Federal Government unless they get their railway and are thus brought into close contact with the rest of the Commonwealth, and this view is likely to become much stronger as the value of the Pacific becomes realised. The railway, which must be carried through 1100 miles of waterless, uninhabited, and (except by irrigation) uncultivable country, presents no engineering difficulties, but the absence of water is a serious matter. The future traffic cannot be estimated, but that it will be of great general advantage to the Commonwealth, uniting the two sides of the Australian continent, cannot be doubted. The difficulty is therefore a very serious one, and is likely to test the Federal Government severely. The mileage of railways open on the continent is over 15,000, and in New Zealand over 2300, while

construction is being proceeded with at a prudent pace.

Australasia will shortly be connected with Britain by two new cable lines. One, the property of the Eastern Telegraph Company, will span the Indian Ocean, *viâ* Mauritius, Rodriguez, and Cocos or Keeling island, and thence to Fremantle in Western Australia. The other will cross the Pacific from Vancouver, *viâ* Fanning island to Fiji and Norfolk island, whence one cable will run to Southport near Brisbane in Queensland, and the other to the northernmost point on the North island of New Zealand. This line will have the longest cable span in the world, the distance from Vancouver to Fanning island being no less than 3600 miles, and its deepest sounding will be over 3200 fathoms, almost the greatest depth at which any cable has yet been laid.

These lines are British, either State-built and owned or in the hands of a British Company. It seems advisable that all such cables should be under Government control and the land telegraphs of British possessions State-owned. The land telegraphs of the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, India, and South Africa are already nationalised and administered by the Post Office, and, when those of Canada are taken over, State-owned telegraphs and cables will connect London with Australia, and a distance of over 15,000 miles (two-thirds the circumference of the entire globe) will be covered by a State-owned telegraph service. This fresh development of cable communication was much needed to bind the various parts of the British Empire in America, the Pacific, and Australia to the mother country. British interests in Asia and Africa, by means of branch cables, will again be linked on to the Empire,

which in this century is to be found in five continents and comprises vast areas in both hemispheres. The multiplication of means of communication with the centre and with one another is a growing necessity towards promoting the unity of the various parts of the Empire.

While an attempt has been made to sketch the development of the Australian colonies and a few of the domestic problems that await the Federal Government, nothing has as yet been said on a most important subject, the future relations between the colonies and the mother country. It is abundantly evident, even from the slight sketch of past relations given here, that the colonists have frequently been obliged to insist very strenuously in order to ensure action which was to them a vital necessity, and there is considerable truth in the complaint made that Great Britain does not concern herself as actively as she should about the welfare of her children in distant quarters of the globe. The ardour and enthusiasm cannot be all on one side.

It has been said already that the Australians, though British by descent, are already showing signs of racial development on fresh lines, and the strength of their national feeling — as Australians and not as Britons — is evidenced by the protectionist tariff against Britain, the efforts being made to close Australia to immigration, and by many other signs of the times. The enthusiasm recently shown by Australia and New Zealand in the cause of Imperial defence, while evidencing the strong feeling which exists of kinship and a common cause with Great Britain, is in the writer's opinion too frequently taken as a sign of an indiscriminating loyalty to the mother country. Australia is not disloyal, but the sentiment, national feeling, or whatever name may be used to

designate that peculiar outcome of race development, is tending towards a liberty and independence which recognises no obligation, but declares its intention of acting freely if generously towards the land which gave it birth. The spontaneity and freedom with which aid was offered in the South African war must not be regarded altogether as a precedent. There were circumstances which specially enlisted the sympathies and interests of Australia, and she has made it plain that her action was above everything voluntary, and not dictated by any considerations of obligation. Canada went a step further in intimating that she was not desirous of creating a precedent. The whole incident of colonial aid in the war is one which, putting aside the torrent of sentimental gush it has called forth, is worthy of deep consideration and affords much food for reflection to the thoughtful student of politics.

The serious divergence of interests in the different colonies of Australia has been already referred to, and it is to be hoped that the Federal Government will be able to reconcile them, or at any rate to introduce a certain unselfishness and *esprit de corps* in the various members of the Federation which will lead them to act for the general welfare. The first session of the Australian parliament has been marked by serious and dignified discussion, albeit a little lengthy, and the added weight of responsibility will probably improve the standard of Colonial politicians. But Australia is somewhat overweighted with her Labour Party, an excellent thing in itself, when played off against a more altruistic body, but which, composed of men whose political vision is restricted to the most material issues, becomes a serious danger to a nation — no longer colonies, with

PAPUAN DRUMS OR SPIRIT CARVINGS

a distant Government to watch over their wider interests, but really, in every sense of the word, a nation. That Australia is a new continent and a new nation is the crux of the situation.

One of the chief features of Australian development is that long before her own territory is peopled she has begun not merely to shut out the coloured man, and restrict immigration, but also to desire influence over contiguous islands. It has been shown that New Guinea was partially acquired only at the solicitation of all the colonies, while New Zealand has made frequent representations about Fiji, the New Hebrides, and other groups, which she considers should be brought under her wing. There is so much that is reasonable in these aims that it is difficult to see how they can be checked in the future. The administration of the French colonies in the Pacific has always been a serious scandal, and the existence of such in the vicinity of highly organised and ambitious States is like an open sore in a healthy body. The islands are capable of development, no doubt, but it is not so much that, nor the exploitation of the native, that is the object, but the removal from these seas of methods of government, policy, and administration which are contrary to the most cherished traditions of the British colonies, and make the islands an Alsatia and a dumping ground for ne'er-do-wells from Europe. The convict question has been settled, but the nuisance remains. The strategic importance of the New Hebrides and New Caledonia is not in reality a pressing matter, for Fiji dominates those groups. But New Guinea is of strategic value, and while Australia does not at present absolutely object to the presence there of Germany — quiescent in the north of the island and in the

Solomon and smaller groups — she would strenuously resent any extensive development of German power in the Pacific, such as the creation of a large naval station or the acquisition of any of the Dutch East Indies. Any such action would at once rouse Australasia to a man. The Australian Monroe Doctrine has not yet been officially promulgated or incorporated in the national policy, but its spirit is breathed by all Australians. The day, therefore, may not be distant when Britain may have to decide between her colonies and some of the European Powers — in particular her ally Germany. The question is certainly one that should receive serious consideration before the actual occasion arises, for by such consideration may the clashing of interests be avoided, — and forewarned is forearmed.

Maritime defence is perhaps the most pressing need for Australasia with her extended seaboard, which, however, with her coal supply and fine harbours, affords great opportunities for the development of sea power. If the young Commonwealth is to attain the high ends she has in view she must be prepared not only to make sacrifices in order to provide adequate home defence, but to bear her full share in the work of Imperial defence. The time has come when these questions must be placed on a sounder basis than that of sentiment. The British dominions beyond the seas owe their present security to their position as part of the great Empire of Britain, and it is only by close federation and co-operation that that Empire can hold her own.

Australia has now been briefly sketched, — a young and lusty nation, a rich country with lands still unexploited, a future full of possibilities, — truly a happy people and a noble land.

With all these advantages, as has been pointed out already, the young Commonwealth has serious difficulties to deal with, and in turning to a final glimpse of social life and conditions we are met at the outset by a curious and serious fact. This is the steady decrease in the birthrate, which has been noticeable for some years past. In a country where population is urgently wanted, and where immigration is discountenanced so that there can be little infusion of fresh blood, this gives rise to considerable misgivings. The cause has been a good deal debated, but certain facts are patent to any observer of Australian life. The first is that the average "native born" is taller and paler than his British forbear. The hot, dry climate induces a nervous temperament, also unlike the typical British stolidity. Girls develop rapidly, have a tendency to anæmia, and age earlier than is usual with English women. The life, too, is very strenuous. There is not, perhaps, the brain-fag, the nerve-strain, of city life in the old country; but we know that the average Londoner is not a typical English man or woman since the country is thickly populated with a reserve stock constantly replenishing the cities, who, despite the rush and bustle of the times, lead sheltered, peaceful lives, and do not work either brains or bodies beyond the limits of endurance.

This is typical England — the land of country homes, of well-ordered service, and unostentatious ease — and from this class comes a large proportion of our colonising material. There is, of course, another side of the picture, and the rapid increase of the lower-middle and working classes can certainly not be attributed to a superfluity of ease, though it is doubtless assisted by a lack of nerves. This question is too intricate to be ana-

lysed here, but it may be said roughly that the labouring man belongs to one of two classes. Either he is proud of his ability to provide for a wife and family, however numerous, or else he recognises his inability, and knowing that some one has to provide, thinks half a dozen more or less makes little difference.

When a man from either of these classes gets to the other side of the world, he finds a great difference. He finds the class distinctions far less rigid, and with increased dignity comes increased responsibility. In democracies, while there is a general sharing of burdens, there is no escaping one's individual load, and if wages are higher in the new land, the standard of living is proportionate — and many things which seemed to drop from the skies at home must be got by hard labour, or done without. The descendants of the two differing types both arrive at the same point, — they are prosperous but prudent, and unfortunately prudence seems to begin at the point arrived at some time ago by the small freeholder of France. Climate has no doubt much to do with it in the case of the Australians.

To this leisured country class which is the chief reserve stock of Britain there is no parallel in Australia, just as there is no parallel to the poverty-stricken, irresponsible class. There are degrees of wealth, of course, and we hear of Australian millionaires; but the typical Australian is not one, and circumstances make his life far more strenuous than that of a Briton with a similar income. This is intensified in the case of the women, who from their earliest girlhood, even in wealthy homes, are accustomed to do much of the housework, besides taking a great deal of physical exercise and enjoying to the full all the amusements natural to their age. An Australian

LEVUKA, FIJI

girl would consider the life of an average English maiden extremely dull and colourless, and would miss the attention she is accustomed to from the other sex, for women are still scarce enough in Australia for a man to ride twenty miles to spend the evening with one, and even in the larger cities the balance of numbers is in favour of the stronger sex. When a girl marries, her life becomes of necessity even fuller. Whether she dwells in cities or on distant ranches, she has the same difficulty in procuring servants, or, as they must be termed, "helps." An Australian lady told the writer that her "lady-help" in the kitchen stipulated for certain nights out, on which she could attend a series of subscription dances, and her long gloves and fan were frequently found mixed up with the pudding basins on the kitchen table.

The "help" question which has been exercising the minds of women at home for many years has hardly, however, been elevated to the position of a social problem in the colonies. It is part of a recognised system, and Australian women bake and wash and iron as a matter of course. It is obvious that, with all these duties superadded to social amusements and obligations, life is very busy, and the average woman must have head and hands occupied from morning till night. The care of children under such circumstances is no sinecure. The writer does not wish to suggest that Australian women shirk the responsibilities of maternity, though such an allegation has been brought against Americans on lesser grounds. He has merely stated the fact, and in a rough sketch of social conditions indicated those which seem likely to have an influence on it. The root of the matter seems to lie midway between physical and social causes.

The dry, hot climate, no doubt, produces its effect on nerves and physique which are further exhausted by the demands made by the busy life, while at the same time the general high standard of wages and of living operate somewhat unexpectedly in the same direction, as has already been shown.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: RIVER SCENE

CHAPTER VIII

CANADA AND THE PACIFIC

To turn from Greater Britain in the Western and Southern Pacific to her interests on the Eastern seaboard. Within the compass of this work it is impossible to give more than a passing reference to the Dominion of Canada, and the merest outline sketch of her westernmost territory bordering the Pacific, British Columbia, — sufficient, however, it is hoped, to indicate the part she is likely to play in the future.

The growth of Canada has been phenomenal, when the difficulties to be encountered are taken into consideration. Not more than sixty years ago British North America consisted of the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Lower

and Upper Canada. The population was to be found only on the coasts and along the navigable rivers. The sole method of communication was water by summer and road by winter, and there was practically no intercommunication between the provinces. The land was being reclaimed from the primeval forest and agriculture was in a primitive condition. West of Lake Ontario the whole country was practically under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, a condition of affairs that lasted till the gold discoveries; and though incorporated in the Dominion of Canada in 1871, it was not until the great Canadian Pacific railway was carried across the continent, in 1885, that British Columbia was really taken into the Canadian family and became a living part of the British Empire. Thus arose a United Canada.

To-day the trade of Canada is nearly £80,000,000 sterling annually, a great manufacturing industry is increasing rapidly, agriculture expands steadily, and large quantities of timber and food are yearly exported, chiefly to the United Kingdom. The natural resources in forests, mines, and fisheries are being developed, and are likely to receive a great impetus from the opening of the Pacific, especially when British capital is more freely invested in British Columbia.

It is with the Pacific side of Canada that we are now concerned. It is interesting to note that so recent is the knowledge of this coast that it was absolutely unknown until Captain Cook reconnoitred it in 1778, being sent to find the Pacific entrance to the north-west passage which was then firmly believed to exist. Captain Cook's investigations were cut short by his murder at Hawaii, whither he had gone to refit his ves-

sels, but it was the report carried by one of his successors in command, which led some English merchants on the China side to begin a trade in furs with Alaska and with the Pacific coast generally. Then English traders under various flags began to find their way to these distant shores, and two ships sent by the enterprising merchants of Boston found an Englishman, Meares, building a ship and a storehouse in Nootka Sound, the beautiful natural harbour on Vancouver island. A company was started in 1788 in London to deal with the fur trade, and all these doings aroused the interest of Spain, who claimed the coast up to the Russian territory of Alaska. Two Spanish war-ships arrived at Nootka Sound and seized Meares' ships and houses, but a war between Britain and Spain was averted, and by the Treaty of the Escurial Great Britain was reinstated, the Spanish flag being finally struck and that of Britain hoisted in 1795. Captain Vancouver, sent out to reinstate Meares, gave his name to the island and explored the coast very thoroughly.

But British Columbia owes its discovery not only to the traders who landed on her coasts, but to the hardy and intrepid trappers and explorers who had gradually worked their way from east to west of the great continent. The North-West Trading Company from Montreal sent out pioneers, and as early as 1793 Mackenzie crossed the Great Divide. Forts were established in various parts, and the work of discovery went on, but it was not till 1843 that the Company, driven from their Fort Vancouver headquarters on the mainland by the dispute with the United States as to the boundary, established a settlement at Victoria on Vancouver island. A couple of years later arrived the first ship from England to trade

direct with the new port. The North-West Company had long since been merged into the Hudson's Bay Company, and this powerful organisation practically monopolised all the trade, while they established law and order in their settlements, and in every way promoted the best interests of the country they had acquired for the British Crown.

The discovery of gold in California drew a great rush of men to this side of the Pacific, and a little later came the finds on the Fraser river. For a time there was a great influx, not of the most desirable character, for the disappointed and rejected miners of California made a dash for the new fields. But from the first British Columbia has been celebrated for the law and order prevailing in her territories, a fact no doubt largely due to the discipline prevailing among the first settlers and to the calibre of the few men in authority at the time. It is told of Sir Matthew Begbie, the first Chief Justice of British Columbia, that at the beginning of his career he called the miners together in each place and said to them: "Boys, in this camp there is going to be order — or shooting!" His rigid and fearless administration of the law struck terror into the hearts of evil-doers, and so successful was he that even in the early days, when in the neighbouring territory of California lawlessness was rife, a man could travel in British Columbia without weapons, save as a defence from wild beasts.

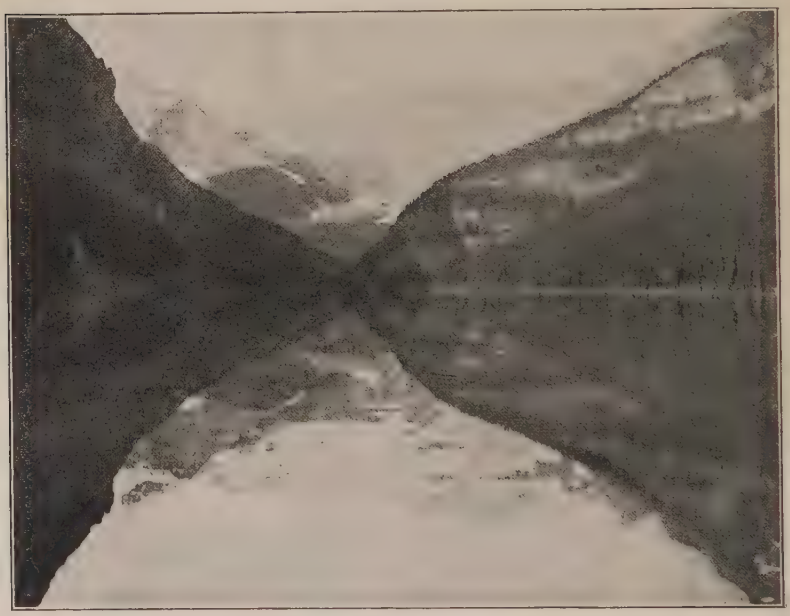
The rapid increase of population led to the cancelling of the grants made to the Hudson's Bay Company, and the territory became two colonies, Vancouver island and British Columbia. The first Royal Governor sent out was given no salary, being merely promised one thousand acres of land, but he found the position impos-

sible since the country was practically governed by the Chief Factor Douglas, and accordingly resigned, while Douglas became Governor both of Vancouver and the mainland. After his retirement the colonies had separate governments, but in 1866 were united under the name of British Columbia, and five years later this was incorporated with the Dominion of Canada. Little need be said of the various boundary disputes which agitated this part of the world for a considerable period and more than once nearly led to open ruptures. It was not until the end of the fifties that these questions were disposed of.

The magnificent territory known as British Columbia, with an area equal to France, Holland, Italy, and Belgium, with one thousand miles of seaboard and fine harbours in profusion; with marvellous resources in its soil; with great treasures in its waters; with wonderful forests; with great mineral wealth awaiting development, and with a climate which produces a race akin to that of New Zealand, is destined to grow into a great State. Situated, too, on the Pacific slope of Canada it is admirably placed for the purposes of ocean communication with the Russian territories in Siberia and Manchuria, with Japan and Northern China, and in a minor degree with Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific islands generally. No one who has seen anything of British America and who thinks of what has been accomplished within the past fifty years or so in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States can entertain any doubt as to the great future before British Columbia.

The country has everything that has made the little sea-girt island in the West the centre of a great world-

empire, — coal, iron and other minerals, waterways to the coast, seaboard, — and she has what Britain did not possess when she began her era of prosperity, gold to give the initial impetus, a vast reserve of timber, and a great fishing industry. All that is wanted is capital and labour. There is no reason why within a reasonable though not measurable limit of time British Columbia



A LAKE IN THE ROCKIES

should not forge ahead and become a great ship-building and manufacturing country, as the American territory further south is destined shortly to be. The scenery, too, on the coast and in the interior, is such as would draw thousands of visitors if only these shores were more accessible. The panorama is one of the finest and most varied in the world, and few sensations are comparable to the first sight of the British Columbian coast as one returns from the East. The dark, pine-

clothed shores, the snow-covered coast ranges, the numberless islands, the deep *fjords*, the mountain cañons, and the glaciers in the background, — and these in profusion through such an extent of territory, — are not to be matched elsewhere. The climate, as a whole, is milder than east of the Rockies, but both the mildness of the coast and the intensity of the cold in the interior have been exaggerated. Mild and equable in the south, as one approaches the north the climate becomes colder. Generally, the climate is not unlike that of Northern Europe, lying between the same parallels of latitude.

Notwithstanding the vast forest-fires which have cleared large interior regions, the greatest compact area of available timber on the North American continent is to be found in British Columbia. Of the 382,000 square miles of area, no less than three-fourths are wooded. The density of the forests is extraordinary, as much as 500,000 cubic feet having been taken from a single acre. The lumber industry, already of great dimensions, is chiefly with the United Kingdom, China, and Australia; but the amount cut is scarcely appreciable when the forest wealth of the whole province is considered. Although the reserve of timber wealth is so great, it would be wise to pay immediate attention to forest preservation, reforestation, and diversifying, with a view to the future. Wood-pulp, already so flourishing an industry in Eastern Canada, should do well in British Columbia, where the Douglas fir abounds everywhere, hemlock in the north, and there is abundant water-power, so far very little utilised.

The mining industry is as yet in its infancy, but it is safe to predict a great future for it. Each of the four

mountain ranges traversing the country in a north-westerly direction contains minerals in sufficient quantity to be profitably mined, and the valleys on the western side of the chief range of the Rockies are gold-bearing throughout. Mining and even prospecting have been carried on so far only within range of the railways, for beyond them mining operations are impossible; a fact which, with its general isolation, accounts for the comparatively small progress the country has yet made in mining. The Yukon district — administered from Ottawa, it is to be noted — to which there was such a rush a few years ago, has not realised the expectations raised, and more money has been sunk there than will ever come out of it. But still the Yukon and North-West territory produced in 1900 over $22,000,000 worth of gold, and British Columbia close on $5,000,000. It was in 1858 that "placer" gold was first found on the lower Fraser river, and a couple of years later near the head-waters were found the very rich "placers" of the Cariboo district which produced gold to the value of $10,000,000, drawing thousands of miners from California, then beginning to fail, as well as from elsewhere. In 1899 fresh "placer" workings were discovered in the Atlin district, a connecting link between the Cariboo and the Yukon fields. In later years the earlier methods, the pick and shovel and pack-animals, have been replaced by machinery and water-power, which can now be introduced owing to improvements in transport; but for hydraulic mining large capital is necessary, and companies are only now installing the necessary machinery and equipment.

So long as "placer" mining could be profitably worked by the individual digger, little attention was paid

VICTORIA, VANCOUVER ISLAND

to lode mining, which required so much capital for working and proper transportation facilities. It was not until the opening of the Canadian-Pacific that a main artery of communication was available, and even the prospectors could penetrate only short distances from the trunk line. The work of testing and development has been necessarily slow, and it is only within the past seven years that lode mines have been productive, but they have steadily increased until in 1900 the output reached a value of over £2,000,000. The general conditions for mining are now greatly improved, and the reduction of the mining tax from ten to five per cent. was a politic concession on the part of Government and has been of great service to the mining industry. The total mineral production for 1900 was over £3,200,000.

Although British Columbia owes its prosperity largely to the existence of the precious metal, the discovery of which has peopled so many parts of the world's surface, she is fortunate in possessing many other resources, and of these coal is one of the most important. When we look forward to the future of the Pacific and the enormous increase in the traffic of that ocean which must shortly take place, it is obvious that Great Britain, to hold her own on both sides of the ocean, will require not only ships but the fuel without which merchandise cannot be conveyed from shore to shore. The coal-fields of British Columbia occupy an unique position on the Pacific seaboard of America. Coal, it is true, has been prospected for and found in small quantities in Oregon and Washington, but no such fields as the British Columbian and Vancouver ones are known to exist, nor does the geological formation lead one to expect that

other fields may be discovered. At present coal is worked on Vancouver island, and in a district west of the Rockies, but coal in abundance and of excellent quality is found, in close proximity to both rivers and seaboard, all over British Columbia. At present about half the output goes to California and the State of Washington, and as this is the case the rapid development of the American States will also help forward the progress of the British Colony. The labour difficulty, however, crops up again, and the perfectly legitimate sentiment of the colonists in desiring to keep their country for the white man is likely to retard progress here as in Australia and California. The Dominion Government has, however, disallowed the Act imposing restrictions on Japanese which made it compulsory to read and write at least one European language. To avoid troubles it will be advisable to check the flow of alien immigration into British Columbia. But how is this to be done? There seems to be no real solution for the difficulty, and it is a case of choosing between evils. The number entering last year was over 9000, and more than 6000 came in transit. The Chinese are rapidly decreasing.

Gold, silver, lead, copper, and coal[1] are the chief min-

[1] *Coal produced:*

British Columbia		1,612,346 tons
Nova Scotia		3,357,901 „
	(Exports 906,215 tons)	
Value of gold produced (1900):		
Yukon and N.W. territory		22,275,000 dol.
British Columbia		4,732,105 „
Value of silver produced (1900):		
British Columbia	silver	2,309,200 „
	lead	2,691,877 „
Copper produced (1900):		
British Columbia		9,997,080 lbs.
Ontario		6,728,000 „

erals worked in this territory, but there are several others, and of late years capital has been invested in smelting-works which will greatly aid the development of the mining industry.

Nature was in a bounteous mood when she fashioned this quarter of the globe. Not only do the picturesque mountains, clad in their wealth of forests, hide rich stores

A CATCH OF FISH ON THE FRASER RIVER

of minerals for the use of man, but the swift, turbulent rivers, and the blue ocean warmed with the Japan current, contain countless shoals of fish, in particular the king of fish, the delicious salmon, whose rich, red flesh can be packed in tins and sent all over the world. The salmon come at certain seasons of the year to spawn in the upper reaches of the rivers, and at such times so dense is the rushing mass of them, that it is almost possible to walk across the river over the "pack," as it is

graphically termed. The industry which has arisen out of this superabundance is rapidly increasing, having risen in the twenty-five years it has been in existence from a modest 10,000 cans to 9,600,000. The deep-sea fisheries have been partly exploited. At times as many as 2000 fishing-boats are to be seen at the mouth of the Fraser river; but the wealth of the sea is by no means laid under full contribution, though the total value of fish and seals[1] is estimated at over $5,000,000 and some 20,000 men find employment in the fisheries.

With all these advantages, the progress of British Columbia is slow in comparison with that of the adjacent American States, and her population is absurdly small in comparison with her area and resources, being only some two hundred thousand. A chief reason for this lies in the difficulty of farming, except for men with capital to invest in clearing the ground and other preliminaries, and even when this is done the lack of communications makes farming unprofitable because of the distance to markets. Settlers from Europe coming across Canada prefer to remain in the wide open plains which they find east of the Rockies, and even there farming is by no means a royal road to fortune. The advantages of the coast climate do not weigh as heavily as they might, since against them the colonist puts the increased distance from the old country, the lack of communications, and the harder work involved in clearing the land. The more desirable portions of the land have already been taken up, the usual mistake having been made of granting too large areas, and many landholders are cut-

[1] *Value of fish produced*, 1899: British Columbia, 5,214,073 dollars, exclusive of fish used by Indian population of a probable value of 5,000,000 dollars; Nova Scotia, 7,347,603 dollars.

BOATS AT THE MOUTH OF FRASER RIVER

ting up their estates. The agricultural problem will not be solved until both roads and railways are carried out on an extensive scale, and the Dominion Government might well take a lesson from Russia in the way she invests capital and provides facilities for the settlement and opening up of her distant provinces.

Ocean communications are increasing rapidly, and ought to give an impetus to domestic development. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company runs the beautiful "Empress" boats between Vancouver, Japan, and China every three weeks in summer and once a month in winter, with occasional supplementary boats, and has also three steamers on the Australasian line with a monthly service calling at Honolulu, Brisbane, and Sydney. The Japan line is to be extended to Vladivostock, with a view to sharing the great trade with Siberia and Manchuria which is about to spring up. There is a feeling in British Columbia that the cutting of a trans-isthmian canal will be prejudicial to her interests, as it may divert trade, which would otherwise have come eastwards to Vancouver, to the Eastern States and to Europe direct. The writer has always held, however, that the more wide and general such communications become the greater will be the bulk of traffic and the number of travellers, and that every part of the world which has attractions to offer will benefit rather than lose by the annihilation of distance which is going on. With her great resources, her unique position and ten years' start (even if the canal be commenced at once), British Columbia has nothing to fear from a trans-isthmian canal.

That British Columbians are not blind to the pressing need of their colony is evidenced by the many railway

projects on foot, the chief of which is at present a trunk line from south to north, extending through the great interior plateau as far north as the mineral resources are available, even, perhaps, as far as the mouth of the Yukon in Alaska. The connection of Russian Asia and the United States territory in Alaska may some day be accomplished by means of a tunnel across the Behring

NEW WESTMINSTER

Straits, when railways penetrate those remote regions. This ambitious project is at present visionary, and the urgent need exists for a network of local lines, which could be worked at a small cost, to bring the interior districts into touch with each other and with the coast, and to tie them all on to the great trunk line of Canada. The British Columbians complain that the Dominion Government are unwilling to give assistance in this matter, which they consider they have earned by heavy

customs dues and taxation, but there is "much to be said on both sides," since the Dominion has been put to considerable expense, both during the early years of the province and in the recent gold rushes, in maintaining order in the gold territories and providing the necessary means of communication.

The cable from Vancouver, over which there has been so much controversy, will encounter serious opposition from at least two quarters. These are the Eastern Extension Company's cable already mentioned and the American Pacific cable soon to be laid from Monterey, near San Francisco, to Manila *viâ* Honolulu, whence a line is likely to be laid ere long to New Caledonia, already in cable connection with Queensland. From Manila the line will be carried to China before many years are over. Commercially, a British cable *viâ* Hawaii would have been less costly and more effective, but there are strategic advantages in the cable not passing through foreign territory, even that of the United States. Curious to say, messages through Canada from Britain are at present actually sent across the Commercial Cable Company's Atlantic cables (an American Company), and 270 miles of the Canadian Pacific railway run through the State of Maine.

Reference has already been made to the order which has always prevailed in British Columbian towns. Victoria, on Vancouver island, and all the towns on the mainland, are laid out with precision and neatness, lighted with electric light, and boast good schools and colleges, handsome public buildings, hotels, and churches. Education is amply provided for throughout the province, since schools are free and undenominational, and a certificated teacher must be provided in any district where there

are fifteen children between six and sixteen years of age. The public spirit of the citizens of British Columbia deserves a special mention, and domestic affairs are administered with an uprightness which makes the municipal and local governments compare favourably with those of any other State.

There is a marked and curious difference in the people of this province, as compared with the Canadians on the other side of the Rockies or the Americans of adjacent States, but the difference is largely accounted for by climate, which plays so large a part in the formation of character. The dweller on the wide, free plains of Eastern Canada, as late as May, drops over the Rockies from a land covered with snow into the mild coast region, — a springtime as full of blossom as our own. The Californian, from his richly covered fruit orchards, warmed all the year round by an almost tropical sun, goes north and from the mild — but to him distinctly temperate — coast region, sees for the first time on the mountain-tops white caps of snow glistening in the sunshine, while the dark belts of fir forests stretch down to the blue water's edge. There is every reason to believe that British Columbia could produce a race equal in physique to the New Zealanders, with splendid nerves and full of sap as young oaks, like the best stock from the old country, and unlike the keen, nervous Yankee or the tall, thin, excitable, and yet languid Californian.

The arrangement of a Canadian fast Atlantic service; the opening up of the west by local lines; the laying of a British cable across the Pacific with lowered rates and certainty of despatch; the inevitable development of steamer lines in all directions across the Pacific — all

CALIFORNIAN COAST SCENE

point to great opportunities for British Columbia in the future. The utilisation will largely depend on the energy and enterprise of her people, who with such a climate and such resources should certainly be able to rise to the occasion.

Among the possibilities of the country is that of becoming a great ship-building centre, since not only is wood found, but iron and coal admirably situated and in great abundance near water-ways, and there is no reason why other manufactures should not be eventually started. The magnificent harbours are an asset not to be overlooked, since there are none to be compared with them on the whole coast-line. At Esquimault there is a large naval station, the harbour being an ideal one for the purpose, with ample anchorage, dry docks, and a supply of coal close by.

When we come to a consideration of this territory we are immediately struck by its position as regards the great markets of China and Japan, and also of Eastern Siberia and Manchuria when those great regions are developed and settled. From Vancouver is the nearest and most direct route across the Pacific to these countries, and had British Columbia received the attention it merits, and been assisted by the British Government to take its proper rank in point of population and industries, the attitude recently taken in Britain towards the Far East would certainly have been stiffened by a strong colonial feeling from the Pacific coast of Canada. There is no reason why British Columbia should not compete on favourable terms with the United States in the great Asiatic markets, which are on the eve of an era of development. What is wanted are men and money; neither will be wasted. When one contemplates the sums

spent, for instance, on railways through tropical swamps in East Africa, it certainly seems a matter for regret that this eminently white man's country should not be exploited to the full of its capacity and made, not only a fine field for the energy and enterprise of Young England, which is often driven to waste valuable lives in unhealthy and useless spots, but also one of the bulwarks of the nation in the coming struggle.

CHAPTER IX

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND HONG KONG

It has been said already that Great Britain, besides her Pacific seaboard on the American continent and her great Australasian colonies (within whose sphere of influence must be grouped the Fiji and other islands and British New Guinea) possesses valuable *pieds-à-terre* on the Asiatic side. Leaving aside for the second North Borneo — that little-known and much-neglected estate — the two great trade-distributing centres of Singapore and Hong Kong occupy altogether unique positions in the Eastern hemisphere. Nowhere else in the world under similar conditions can be found commercial and strategic posts of equal value. Both are situated on islands, but whereas Hong Kong is steep and rocky Singapore lies low and is green and fertile. Both are important as shipping centres, but Hong Kong, although the medium for a considerable Chinese trade, is to a great extent cut off from its natural hinterland, the great southern trading centres of China, while Singapore is the outlet for the flourishing trade of the greater portion of the Malay peninsula. Hong Kong lies next a great undeveloped estate in Chinese hands, Singapore next a territory to all intents and purposes British. Notwithstanding these and other dissimilarities in the conditions of the two places they are generally associated in the minds of most Englishmen, and

many circumstances render this association natural. Both present the anomaly of cities which in population are mainly Chinese but are entirely governed by the English, both are places of call for the globe-trotter as well as the merchant, and both have developed with a rapidity unusual in the leisurely Orient.

Singapore owes its existence to the energetic mind of Stamford Raffles, who, after his recall from Java and his period of office in Benkulen, was on the look-out for some place from which England would be able to protect her Eastern commerce after the Dutch had been re-established in the East Indies. In 1819 the island, whose name "Singapore" is from the Sanscrit Sinhapura and signifies "Lion City," was taken over by Great Britain, being at that time covered with primeval forest and inhabited only by a few poor Malay fishers and pirates. There is a tradition of a large trading city having existed on the island in former times but, though it is probable that there was originally a Javanese settlement whose people ultimately were driven by other Javanese invaders to Malacca, there is no proof that "Sinhapura" ever attained to size or importance. Neither were the conditions of the island as observed by the first English inhabitants of a character to support such a belief.

Few places possess more natural advantages as far as beauty and fertility are concerned. Situated in the heart of the tropics, the climate is hot; but there is an abundant rainfall at all times of the year, the air is always moist, and the climate has been aptly described as that of a recently watered greenhouse. There is hardly any variation throughout the year, a fact which makes it extremely trying, especially to chil-

VIEW OF SINGAPORE HARBOUR

dren, who show by their pallor and languid movements how much they miss the stimulation of a real winter. The deadly monotony of such a climate, the same thing every day in the year, is indescribable; yet the residents are often enthusiastic about the place, and it must be owned that there are compensations. The island is covered with beautiful greenery and it is always summer — the trees never lose their leaves simultaneously and fruit ripens continuously. Singapore, well laid out, is a handsome town, with a graceful cathedral, fine hotels, clubs, shops, banks, and public buildings. The suburbs are even more attractive; pretty bungalows surrounded with flower-gardens stand on either side of broad, shady roads, while the larger houses in big grounds are placed on high levels wherever possible. The island lies uniformly low, except at one point where a small hill breaks the monotony and standing well exposed to sea breezes enjoys a much cooler atmosphere. The great drawback to Singapore is that there is no place within easy distance where the inhabitants can go for change or to recruit. The mountains of Java would be ideal but for drawbacks hereafter to be stated, and though there are healthy spots in the hills of the Malay peninsula they are not suitable as sanitaria and are not very convenient. The solitary hill, Bukit Timur by name, has therefore become the honeymooning spot for newly wedded Singaporeans, who must provide themselves with tinned provisions and camp out in the little dâk bungalow at the top.

A wonderful mixture of races is one of the most notable features of Singapore, where the stream of Chinese and Indian immigrants meets on Malay soil. The Chinese quarter, which grows larger every year, swarms with

pig-tailed, blue-frocked Celestials, and they are in a majority in every part of the town. But through the streets stalk tall, thin, dusky natives of India, with fierce black eyes and beards — *Klings*, as they are locally called, whether Tamils, Bengalis, or natives of other parts of India — swathed in white muslin draperies, and with a touch of vivid colour in their enormous turbans. Their slender dark-eyed women sway along beside them, wrapped in wonderful folds of purple and green and yellow, with tinkling gold and silver anklets and armlets, and little dark-eyed children clothed only in nature's garb at their sides. Or perhaps they are Hindoos of a higher caste, students or clerks, and their costume is a loose-flowing white shirt and trousers. Then comes the big-eyed, plump-faced, olive-tinted Cingalese, with his sleek hair gathered into a knot and an absurd circular comb ornamenting the crown of his head. He is clad in a white skirt like the Malay *sarong* — merely a wide, long strip joined together at the ends, into which he steps, and drawing the extra fulness together in front tucks it inside. The Malay himself, with his lean, brown, hairless face, *sarong* of checked cotton and little round cap, is in evidence, but always rather with the air of a spectator. On every hand yellow, half-naked Chinese coolies are pulling, hauling, carrying, sweating, and chattering as though possessed. The roads and streets are full of rickshaws pulled by Chinamen, whose usual costume is a shady hat and a pair of blue drawers. Many handsome private carriages roll by, as well as numerous small conveyances for hiring, both, by the way, driven by Malays, for this is a branch of labour congenial to those gentlemen. Some of the finest private equipages are owned by Chinese, and it is a usual sight to see a smart

phaeton in which reclines a gentleman attired in a light tweed suit and straw hat, and to discover on nearer view that he possesses also almond eyes and a pigtail. More comic to the unaccustomed is the sight of John with the end of his pigtail tucked into a pocket, whizzing by on a bicycle with his white coat and loose sleeves flapping and a billycock hat crushed down over his nose. There is a society for preventing the country from being defaced

IN THE BOTANICAL GARDENS AT SINGAPORE

by placards, and surely there might be one to prevent the Chinaman, with his picturesque and comfortable national costume, from spoiling the landscape by adopting the headgear of Europeans, — especially the type of headgear usually associated with Italian ice-cream venders! There is also in Singapore a considerable Eurasian population, chiefly of Portuguese extraction.

Singapore possesses a rather neglected museum, with an excellent library, and a beautiful botanical garden.

The harbour-works are being extended, and the defences have been strengthened, the cost being borne by the Colony, while arms and armaments are supplied by the Imperial Government. The Straits Settlements, like Ceylon and Hong Kong, are officered by a special branch of the Civil Service known as the Straits Settlement Service, to enter which the candidates pass very much the same examinations in open competition as those in the Indian branch, India being the crack service, by reason of the superior pay and opportunities. There is a garrison consisting of one battalion of native infantry officered by Englishmen, a small draft of artillery and naval engineers, and also an armed police-force of thirty-eight officers and about two thousand men. Until the time of the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa there had always been an English regiment stationed there, but owing to the drain on men caused by the Boer War and the hostilities in China this was replaced by a native regiment.

The trade of the Straits Settlements shows a steady yearly increase and in 1899 reached the great total of twenty-eight millions in imports and twenty-four millions in exports. Besides this it possesses one of the largest tin-smelting works in the world, 31,567 tons of ore having been converted into tin here in 1899. The tinning of pineapples is an important industry of recent growth, the markets of Europe and Australia being chiefly supplied from this source. It must, however, be noticed that the increase of trade, largely one of distribution, is mainly with other colonies or dependencies and with foreign countries, not with Great Britain herself. Singapore ranks as one of the largest shipping ports of the world, having a yearly tonnage of about seven millions. A chief reason

for the immense amount of trade done is that Singapore and every port in the Settlements (as well as Hong Kong) are free and open, there being neither import nor export duties, — a great contrast to any other ports in the Far East. A certain proportion of the development of Singapore is no doubt also due to her position alongside the Malay States, which under British control and improved

MALAY FISHERS, SINGAPORE

communications are making great progress. The trade of these States in 1900 was nearly ten million sterling, and the exports (chiefly tin) are the real product of the country, the imports being for local consumption. There is no passing trade, as at Singapore. The revenue has grown in twenty-six years from £100,000 to £1,500,000.

The first step made by Britain towards obtaining the control of the Peninsula was the result of the representations made by the master of a merchant vessel who had

been in the habit of trading with the ports of Siam and had realised the necessity for a British station on the east side of the Bay of Bengal. The East India Company, perceiving this necessity and following his advice, upon payment of a yearly sum to the Rajah who nominally was owner took over the uninhabited island of Penang, to which was afterwards given the name of Prince of Wales' island. This merchantman, whose name was Francis Light, is one of England's forgotten pioneers, but he met with more recognition than is often the fate of pioneers at the time, for he was appointed Governor of Penang and administered the colony until his death. This place increased rapidly in population and prosperity, many Malays seeking refuge there from the disturbances in their own States, and in 1800 the territory facing it on the mainland was also purchased from the Rajah and christened Province Wellesley. It is curious to note that the price paid was one penny an acre, which, low as it seems, was probably more than its value to the owner. In 1824 the town of Malacca (which had been a Dutch port for 154 years, until during the war of the French Revolution it fell to Britain, being again given back to the Dutch in 1818) was exchanged for the post of Benkulen in Sumatra. In 1867 the Malay dependencies, till that time under the Government of India, were constituted a separate Crown Colony, a step which inaugurated an era of rapid progress. The rest of the Peninsula consisted of States under native Sultans or Rajahs. The sparse population could not be estimated, but the conditions of life—the oppression of the rulers, general lawlessness and constant petty feuds—made the country a great contrast to the flourishing and populous British settlements at Penang, Malacca, and

Singapore. The object lesson was not wasted on the Malays. In 1874 three of the States appealed to Great Britain to aid them in establishing peace and prosperity within their own borders. The request was granted, and Residents were sent to each State to "advise" concerning its affairs, — with the distinct understanding, however, that their advice must be followed. In 1875 an outbreak took place in Perak, the Resident was murdered, and British troops had to be sent into the country. Since that time the Peninsula has gone forward with leaps and bounds, and other States have entered into amicable arrangements with Britain, the federation of the States being accomplished in 1895. The knowledge that under British protection order was maintained, justice could be counted on, life and property would be safe and wages regular, attracted the Chinese, and with their help the enormous mineral wealth of the country has been exploited. Roads have been made and railroads are following. Cycling tours in the Malay peninsula are a favourite amusement with Singapore residents, a fact which speaks volumes for the condition of the country and its communications. If any one cares to know what the British residents found when they arrived at the Malay courts they can read the true stories, told in the guise of fiction, by Frank Swettenham and Hugh Clifford, — tales of intrigue, corruption, wild passions, mediæval barbarism, and also of heroism and devotion, — a world which seems almost impossible in these days of prose.

The phenomenal success of the Federal Malay States, the revenue being greater than in any British colony except Ceylon, has been chiefly due to the wise policy adopted from the outset, carried out by officials who

understood the people — chiefly Malays and Chinese — they had to deal with. This policy may be defined in a few words. Interfere as little as possible with the manners, customs, and prejudices of the various nationalities concerned and not at all with religious matters, especially the Mohammedan faith. Encourage all immigration, Chinese, Indian, or other, and the introduction of capital, European and Chinese. Open the country, by roads and railways, give security and prompt justice, abolish all import duties (except on spirits and opium) and all restraints on trade and industries.

Penang and Malacca (directly under the Straits Settlement Government) and the Malay States (indirectly so) are only included in this sketch of British interests in the Pacific on account of their influence on the development of Singapore, which is considerable, and because they afford interesting illustrations of how to deal with Malays, a question which is more important just at present than most people imagine.

Public education, of which Great Britain has made such a feature (with not altogether satisfactory results) in her Indian Empire, meets with many checks in Singapore, not the least being the veritable Babel which naturally exists among such a mixed population. There are only six English-speaking schools, and these suffer from the fact that a boy can get employment almost as soon as he can read and write, so that education remains at an elementary stage. No attempt is being made to force education or even the learning of the English tongue upon the Malays. Village schools in the vernacular are supported by Government. It is interesting, in view of the experiment just beginning in the Philippines with a people of the same stock, to see how the natives of the

Malay peninsula are being treated. No Englishman who has had any experience of them believes them capable of assimilating any sort of civilisation *en bloc*. In another chapter we have seen how the United States proposes to deal with this interesting and difficult race.

The Eurasian class, while fairly numerous, does not present the same problem as in the Dutch East Indies. The British system does not encourage, directly or indirectly, the increase of their numbers. Although the demand for youths who can speak and write English creates openings for a certain number of clerks, it is to be noted that the supply is never sufficient, and above such positions it is practically (though not theoretically) almost impossible for Eurasians to rise in British colonies. The much criticised British attitude towards the Eurasians has at least this advantage, that it does something to check the growth of that class, never a satisfactory one in physique or *morale*.

There are two significant developments to be observed at Singapore and throughout the Far East, deserving more detailed treatment, which cannot escape any visitor who has known this part of the world.

The first is the gradually encroaching wealth, power, and number of the Chinese community. The spectacle of a Chinese gentleman driving a smart phaeton and pair has been remarked on as no unusual one in Singapore. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the majority of well-appointed carriages drawn by fine horses that one sees are the property of Chinese, while they are constantly buying or building large and handsome houses in the suburbs. The Chinese quarter, as applied to those streets of small houses and shops occupied exclusively by Celestials, has eaten up a large portion of the town,

which the writer remembers as European a few years back, and continues to grow steadily. The Chinese merchants have shown themselves public-spirited in subscribing for public objects, and the Straits Settlements being a Crown Colony and governed from Downing Street, there is no question of a Chinese vote or any similar complication. But the Chinese require a firm hand to preserve order, to control the secret societies, and ensure the freedom of women and children. The phenomenon is therefore worthy of consideration, and we are compelled to ask: Where will this movement stop? The Briton whose fate takes him to the Straits Settlements can never regard it as a home. His children cannot grow up there, and he himself looks forward to the time when he can escape from the enervating climate. It is, in short, temporary exile, and only the more palpably so because with characteristic British pluck and conservatism he preserves as far as possible the ways of life in the old country — rides, shoots, cycles, plays polo, cricket, and tennis, and even works hard at amateur soldiering in the Singapore Volunteers. The Chinaman, on the contrary, has the curious and anomalous characteristic that, while always remaining *a priori* a Chinaman, he can expatriate himself at will and ally himself with the people of the country. At Singapore he is in clover. Unlike the Englishman, he requires no exercise to preserve his health — a feature in which he closely resembles the Russian.

The second significant fact is the change which has lately come over the shipping in the Far East, more especially through the port of Singapore. The writer's attention was forcibly drawn to this by the discovery, when he desired to go from the Straits to North Borneo,

— from one British possession to another, — that he was actually forced to travel by a German steamer, a branch of the North German Lloyd. The same line is now the chief one running between Singapore and Manila and between North Borneo and the Philippines. The same flag now covers the carrying trade between Singapore and Bangkok. Until the other day these were all British lines. For some time past dwellers in the East have found much to complain of in the service of British steamers, notably the P. & O. company, which had practically a monopoly, and when Germany started a magnificent passenger line, on which the comforts of passengers were carefully consulted, many people preferred to travel by it rather than face the high prices, limited accommodation, and in many cases the scant courtesy they had hitherto put up with on their own boats. The policy of the German line was to please the passengers, and they succeeded. On more than one occasion an outcry was raised when a high official and his family chose to travel by a foreign line, but such an event no longer attracts attention. The claims of patriotism were urged, but British subjects objected to travelling on uncomfortable steamers which, though heavily subsidised, persisted in employing Lascar crews. Germany has not been the only competitor for both goods and passenger traffic. The French Messageries Maritimes was first in the field, but has made little progress. But the excellent and inexpensive boats of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha have absorbed a great deal of both the freight and passenger traffic between East and West, and their fleet is yearly increased. It is to be regretted that this competition, which should have been healthy and stimulating in its effect, has not led Great Britain to

make further efforts in this direction. Apart from the open ports, British prosperity has mainly been due to competition and cheapness of distribution, and the falling off described is largely attributable to a deviation from this traditional policy, and to the short-sighted and unpatriotic views of British ship-owners aiming at present profits rather than permanent prosperity.

An Eastern shipping conference composed of British and foreign steamship owners was recently inaugurated. Under the influence of this trust or syndicate heavy freight charges were imposed, large rebates being allowed, however, to shippers by the lines belonging to the Conference. This had the effect of killing or driving away the smaller local lines. The European trade with the Dutch East Indies which used to pass through Singapore now goes to Batavia direct, while the local carrying trade has fallen into the hands of the large German companies and firms who are dominating the Conference. The British subsidised line, the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company has entered the ring.[1] The general effect has been to deaden healthy competition, to choke all small ventures, and to set up what is practically a monopoly, in which Britain suffers most, for the ring plays into the hands of German merchants. It is something of a reflection on the public spirit of the British mercantile community of Singapore that no energetic protest has been entered against this system, though its evils have been clearly pointed out by the Government officials. The official and commercial classes in Singapore, it may be added, are not infrequently in disagreement as to the policy most beneficial

[1] The last annual report of the Straits Settlements, published since these pages were in print, supports these views.

to the Settlements, and it certainly appears to an onlooker that the views of the latter are strongly prejudiced by their immediate and personal interest, an attitude both short-sighted and unpatriotic.

To turn to the chief British outpost in the Far East. Every one knows that Hong Kong is a rocky islet ceded to England in 1842, and since then converted into a flourishing and up-to-date commercial and strategic post. Very few of the hundreds of people, however, who annually pass through Hong Kong on their way round the world, not very many even of the actual residents, know how beautiful an islet it is, or care to spend more than a few hours in seeing something of it. In the writer's opinion there are few views in the world to beat the vista from certain parts of the Peak of broken shore, rocky islands, and distant mainland of Asia which spreads out in a glorious panorama. The busy town lies at one's feet, so far below that buildings, gardens, and streets are like green and white and red patches divided by white lines. The harbour lies beyond with a graceful curve, and on its bosom float many beautiful ships — stately men-o'-war glistening with white paint, big long-lined ocean steamers surrounded by shoals of *sampans*, trading schooners, great clumsy Chinese junks, white-sailed yachts, trim little steam launches, and many other craft of all sorts and every nation. Further out hovers a fleet of fishing boats, their red sails bellied by the wind; the blue water is broken by a chain of rocky islands half covered with green; and on the horizon is the faint coast-line of China. Hong Kong itself is a monument of human industry. So small is the fringe of flat land at the foot of the Peak, that the town, which is being built

out further and further into the sea by means of reclamation, begins almost at once to climb, and a network of excellent paths running zigzag at easy gradients has been carried up the steep sides of the rock. The territory acquired at Kaulung on the neighbouring mainland provides ample room for a great extension of Hong Kong, which is already being rapidly utilised. The town itself contains many handsome buildings, and the Chinese shops are famous for their store of silver, black wood furniture, and curios. A beautiful sight is the flower-market held in a side street which rises in steps, so that the masses of blooms seem to be piled one on top of the other, while their picturesque venders dressed in tones of rich blue are half concealed by the lilies, roses, daffodils, and great branches of greenery.

The houses at Hong Kong, especially those on the Peak, are built more after English fashion, and have windows and fireplaces, for the winter is delightfully cold, and even in spring fires and blankets are sometimes necessary on the Peak, where year by year more people prefer to live. The humidity of the climate is the great drawback, and sometimes Peak-dwellers are enwrapped for days in a blanket of thick fog, when everything not dried constantly in a hot room acquires a coating of green mould. Still there are rosy cheeks and bright eyes among the Hong Kong children, and many ladies do not go home for eight or ten years. The most trying feature of the colony is that, like Gibraltar, it is built on a rock and, notwithstanding the Kaulung extension, is more or less circumscribed. The extension on the mainland, however, besides serving other ends, has provided an outlet for the energies

HONG KONG HARBOUR

of the British, who can go over to stretch their legs, shoot, or play golf.

Although Hong Kong has only taken half a century to reach its present pitch of efficiency and completeness, it was far from being a success during the first few years of its existence. The climate was deadly to Europeans until by drainage and the planting of trees the fever germs were partially subdued. In 1846 the expenditure had risen to so high a figure, with such scant results, that not only did Lord Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, apologise, as it were, for Hong Kong's existence and declare that the administration to which he belonged had had nothing to do with its establishment, but serious proposals were made to abandon the colony altogether. The object of its foundation had been to establish a great emporium for trade with China, and it had been selected as the most suitable spot because of its proximity to Canton. At first, however, it attracted only the lowest classes of the Chinese and became a veritable Alsatia for criminals and ruffians. Against all these untoward circumstances the first officials had to contend, and in spite of predictions and forebodings the work went steadily on. The place was improved, works were systematically carried out, malaria decreased, the better class Chinese were gradually attracted, and the current of trade set in steadily from all quarters of the East, drawn by the convenient and central position of the island, the excellence of the harbour, and the absence of all import or export duties. Besides being a trade depôt Hong Kong is now essentially a strategic post, and its defences have been constantly strengthened, while its harbour, one of the finest in the world, is the chief

base for the British fleet in Far Eastern waters and the Western Pacific. The garrison of Hong Kong, which seems to experts hardly sufficient in ordinary times, was further denuded during the recent troubles in Northern China.

If the commercial value of Hong Kong has been depreciated by recent events in the Far East, which have turned China from a friendly, commercial, comparatively powerful and independent State into an arena for foreign rivalries — a country practically divided between the Powers and without any real Government — its potential strategic value has been enhanced by these *dénouements* and by other developments in the Pacific. The approximate value of the trade of Hong Kong, exclusive of that which passes through and does not break bulk, is twenty millions sterling *per annum*, the tonnage being over eight million tons. The presence of America in the Philippines, and the consequent shifting of the centre of activity considerably to the east of Hong Kong, open, however, a grave possibility, for it is obvious that this island on the Chinese coast will in the future be out of the direct trade routes between Australasia, the Malay Archipelago, and the great markets of America. Moreover, its value as a distributing centre for Northern China will be greatly impaired by the vast changes occurring in that quarter. In fact the developments in the Pacific will, speaking broadly, leave Hong Kong largely out of the reckoning, except as regards the trade with Southern China. The future of the colony depends therefore on the maintenance of the integrity of China, and it seems extraordinary that there has been no powerful expression of feeling emanating from the local merchants to induce the Government to take strenuous steps to protect their

interests on the mainland of Asia. Business has, however, been brisk, owing largely to the occupation of the Philippines, which led to a great extension of trade and shipping for the time being, and the failure of the great China market does not hit hard the present generation. The possibility of Manila becoming a serious rival is also one that does not at present seriously exercise the Hong Kong merchant or ship-owner. But, although that place is handicapped during certain seasons by adverse winds and typhoons, there are evident signs that the United States mean to make an important centre of the capital of the Philippines. At present Manila Bay, though nearly landlocked, is not a good natural harbour, but large sums are to be spent on improving it, a measure that cannot be merely for ornamental purposes.

There is, however, a natural harbour in British territory which commands not only many of the new trade routes but the whole of the island chain of the Malay Archipelago, namely Sandakan, in North Borneo, whose advantages and disadvantages are discussed later on.

In many respects Hong Kong well deserves the name of "the model colony" which is sometimes applied to it. Notwithstanding its status as a British colony, it is primarily a Chinese settlement, the small European element being entirely transitory. The method by which this Chinese population is controlled has aroused the admiration of all foreign critics, for it must be remembered that the rulers of Hong Kong are a mere handful of men divided from their own country by half the world, while the island lies just on the outskirts of the Great Chinese Empire and its hundreds of millions of inhabitants, being separated from the mainland only by

a pass half a mile wide. Of the total population of 240,000 only some 8000, exclusive of the garrison, are whites, and of these at least half are euphemistically termed Portuguese. The British have acted with great liberality towards their Oriental settlers, protecting the colony and asking only indirect advantage, giving them educational and other opportunities practically equal to those obtainable in self-governing colonies. Order is maintained without overstepping the limits of police work, and a liberal commercial policy is pursued.

This system, it may be noted, is not the result of a cut-and-dried code, but was gradually evolved out of experience as the conditions arose, and that is the secret of Britain's colonial success in every clime. In Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements we have enriched the Chinese and they have enriched us, and on the whole we dwell peaceably together — we governing and the Chinese working. Spain has disappeared as a colonial Power. France has failed utterly in Indo-China and elsewhere because she could not establish a *modus vivendi* like this; Germany seems to have found a similar stumbling block; and it is possible that America, in dealing with another Oriental people, will trip on a like difficulty. The writer is not a self-complacent Briton who points to his country as the only one capable of dealing with such problems. He is far too well acquainted with the many mistakes made in the Indian Empire, for instance, to believe her faultless or infallible in her dealings "with natives," but a measure of success not vouchsafed to any other nation has certainly followed many of her experiments with Asiatics, and this success is only magnified by the vast difficulties that had to be contended with. In every case success, however partial, has been the result of the

system indicated, — that of seeking no direct revenue for the mother country, building up step by step, and modifying the structure to the needs of the particular situation. No doubt much of this successful empire building has been due to the fact that from her little corner of the globe Great Britain has been able to pick and choose the best places, and on the whole has not fettered her pioneers with too much red tape. Thus individuals have been able to mature and carry out their plans without overmuch interference. There are those who say that this halcyon time is over, and that with improved communications the work of the man on the spot who knows is to be continually spoilt by the men at home who don't. The continued pressure of new rivals, adopting methods alien to the British system, is another cause for disquietude. The range of opportunities is being narrowed by increasing competition. Be this as it may it is still true that if communities are strong in their convictions and single-eyed in their desire for the common weal they can always make their opinions felt, and the same may be said of officials who sometimes complain that their hands are tied by the Home Government. A new era has begun which demands increasing activity, and there is still a great future for British energy and enterprise in the Far East and the Pacific if opportunities are properly utilised.

A NORTH BORNEO RIVER

CHAPTER X

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

THERE are many peculiarities both in the situation and the condition of Borneo — the largest island in the world except New Guinea. Lying as it does between Australia, the coming continent of the Pacific, and the mainland of Asia; situated moreover in the track of trade between the British ports, Singapore and Hong Kong, and the northern coast of Australia; with one long stretch of coast facing the Pacific and its innumerable isles; linked on the north to the Philippine chain and on the south close to the wealthiest of the Dutch Indies — with all these natural advantages of position one might have expected that in the early days of Pacific conquest there would have been a struggle for the possession of this important commercial and strategical field. On

the contrary, although both Dutch and British did a little trading and established factories in the south, there was no attempt made to obtain any political control of the island until, after they had more than once been driven away by the natives, the Dutch managed to arrange a treaty with the Sultan of Banjermassin, and so get in the thin edge of the wedge with which they eventually acquired all South and Central Borneo.

England's authority over any part of the island only dates from 1846, when Labuan became a Crown Colony; but as Labuan is separated by a narrow strait from the mainland it was literally not till the British North Borneo Company obtained a charter for the opening up of that part of the island that Great Britain really acquired a hold over this territory of so much apparent importance.

Besides the geographical advantages of Borneo, it has long been known that the island is rich in minerals — a fact which, as a rule, ensures plenty of attention. Gold has been found in every part, diamonds in the south and west, coal in various districts, oil in the south and east, besides other less valuable minerals. There are also virgin forests, large tracts of land suitable for that most profitable culture, tobacco. In fact, the story of Borneo told in outline, without deviating from the truth, sounds like that of a veritable El Dorado. But — and at this period of the world's history such a "but" is very significant — the fact remains that Borneo is still an uncultivated estate, a garden full of weeds. There is some fate hanging over the island, and it seems as though it were doomed never to realise its splendid possibilities. There are skeletons in the closet, and these are for ever rattling their bones, as we shall see later on.

The first step towards the English occupation was due to private enterprise, as is almost invariably the case in the annals of the Empire. James Brooke, a gentleman of private means, travelling in the East in search of health, was induced by various circumstances to visit the Malay States into which Western Borneo was then divided. A terrible condition of affairs then existed. The riches and civilisation described three centuries before by Piggafetta had gradually declined, the poorer people were ground down, and the Malay officials tyrannised over their own countrymen and persecuted the unfortunate Dyaks, as the aborigines were called. The coasts and rivers were infested with pirates, who were the terror of the neighbouring seas. The lack of organising power ever noticeable among people of Malay origin prevented the people from doing anything for their own deliverance.

A SARAWAK DYAK

James Brooke, moved by a sincere desire to evolve order and justice out of all this chaos, and above everything to abolish the piracy which made all legitimate trade impossible, settled down in the State of Sarawak, protected only by the crew of his yacht, and earned by degrees the confidence of the Rajah and people through his wise advice, his sympathy and strength of character. Finally he was invited to take upon himself the office of Rajah, and after refusing several times he at length con-

sented. His path was not always smooth; on one occasion at least a revolution drove him from his house and his life was threatened, but the people rallied round him and restored him to his throne. His strenuous and successful efforts to stamp out piracy made him enemies among the sentimental class at home, and the calumnies and difficulties with which he was annoyed in England were far greater troubles to him than the inevitable hitches in his self-imposed task of reducing a Malay State to order. His frank and open nature led him to a freedom of speech which antagonised powerful people, but at the end of his life he saw the triumphant vindication of his character, and in the devotion of his Malay subjects he received his best reward. The secret of his success with Malays is said by those who knew him best to have been largely due to the perfect courtesy of his manners. He impressed the Orientals by the dignity of his bearing and won their hearts by his sympathy and politeness.

The result of his efforts is the best possible testimony to his worth and wisdom. Sarawak, now governed by his nephew on the lines he laid down, is a model State. There are good schools, public buildings, well-regulated towns, thriving trade, an excellent civil service of Europeans with trained natives as underlings, a native militia and police, and a fleet of launches, yachts, and sailing boats with trained native crews.

Piracy has been crushed on sea, and head hunting kept in check on land. The Dyaks dwell peacefully in their villages and are being taught the arts of peace — agriculture and simple manufactures. The Rajah is averse to allowing concessions to Europeans, and only one company is engaged in exploiting minerals. Most of the trade is in the hands of Chinese, and the revenues

of the country are sufficient for prosperity. The country is in fact administered like a large and flourishing estate. It is to be regretted that every man who is brought into relations with Orientals does not endeavour to model himself in many respects on Rajah Brooke. It is the gravest mistake to attempt to introduce the freedom of speech and laxity of manners characteristic of modern Europe and America into the East, whose people are still under the impression that "manners makyth man." The

SARAWAK DYAK FAMILY AT HOME

single-eyed firmness of purpose of "the old Rajah" might also be emulated with advantage.

Next door to the truly model State of Sarawak, now under British protection, is the moribund sultanate of Brunei. Brunei, once nearly as high in the ranks of Malay civilisation as Java; whose hundred splendidly caparisoned elephants manœuvred before Piggafetta; whose king received tribute from all the adjacent States and the islands of Sulu; whose wonderful

gold-embroidered stuffs, silver and gold vessels, with their thread decoration of simple but artistic design, and splendid jewelled *krisses* were a sight to dazzle even the Venetian, accustomed to the luxuries of his own beautiful city — Brunei is fallen very low. Quaint and picturesque, it stands half on the river's mouth, the brown huts on innumerable piles reflected in the sluggish water, a few Chinese junks and numerous little Malay *praus* rocking gently with the tide. A greedy, ignorant monarch squats in a dark and noisome room in his tumble-down palace, while his ministers stand about him clad in gaudy cotton dresses and decked with shoddy English jewellery sold them by the enterprising Chinaman who is the only person who makes anything out of this effete and decaying State. Nothing done in the way of keeping the town clean or the river clear, no proper Customs regulations, no education, no administration, no justice — this in the town itself, while in the interior might is right, and the natives settle their own affairs after the immemorial Malay fashion by bloody feuds and midnight assassination — only the Malay does not really mind whether it is midnight or not, for he thinks no shame to take life and wants no cloak of darkness to cover the deed. The Brunei men bear a bad character in the archipelago even now, when they can no longer indulge in piracy. In figure short and slight, in bearing they are either bold and defiant or shifty and cunning.

Brunei is the last of independent Malay States, for although nominally under British protection it is obvious that little can be done to interfere with it. If something particularly flagrant occurs, the Governor of British North Borneo (who is of course the servant of his Company and not of Great Britain) goes over to Bru-

nei and spends an unpleasant hour sitting in the council chamber surrounded by betel-chewing Malays with impassive faces and twitching hands. They agree politely with everything he says — the Malay is always a gentleman in manner — and as his yacht leaves the harbour they turn round with a sigh of relief. They know that the hard-worked official, who administers a province about the size of Ireland, cannot waste more time in coming again just yet. They are also perfectly aware that he is not in a position to employ force.

The British North Borneo Company rules over a very large slice of the island, although its territory does not make much show on the map. The island of Labuan, which was a Crown Colony from 1846 to 1889, was at the latter date handed over to the Company, presumably because the Government did not think it worth the expense of upkeep. It is now one of the residences of the Governor, the principal one being at Sandakan on the north coast. The Company have a Governor and Civil Service, and have established trading posts at intervals along the coast, while a telegraph line runs right across North Borneo and connects Labuan and Sandakan. There are about half a dozen administrative posts scattered about the interior, of which a sketch will be given later on. There is a railway line in course of construction, which, if it fulfilled the objects for which it was built, would connect the coast next Labuan with a post some distance inland and would "tap a large population." Another line starting from the first runs along the coast to a place called Jesselton, while there is a scheme for connecting the east and west coasts by rail and wire. The Company offer concessions of land to young men with a certain capital to invest. They show on

their maps a large area of land suitable for tobacco, and state that very large estates are already under cultivation.

Before speaking further of either the Company or the territory they administer, it is as well to say a few words on the subject of Chartered Companies generally. The story is no new one. The break-down and collapse of the old Dutch East Indian Company, and the abuses left behind, were prototypes of what would happen to other companies on the same model. The abuses might not be as flagrant, nor the crash as supreme, but the same reasons were at the bottom. Our own East Indian Company, though saved from an equal degree of failure by the genius of the men whom it attracted, was yet inadequate to deal with the problems of government; the Hudson's Bay Company came to grief over the Indian question; and the Chartered Company of South Africa seems to have been chiefly useful as a pioneer — and not always wisely at that.

The system is in fact only a temporary one. The Companies are pioneers, and they undertake for ulterior motives a task for which the Government is not prepared. Had Cecil Rhodes never planned and carried through the occupation of Matabeleland and Mashonaland they would have been occupied by Germany, and, although North Borneo has not as yet proved an important asset to the British account, it is certainly a matter for congratulation that it has not fallen under the influence of another Power. As already pointed out, there are many possibilities in the possession of North Borneo, and we cannot afford to throw away any more of our chances in the Far East.

It will be seen in a glance at the map that Borneo is

FOREST SCENE, BRITISH BORNEO

practically divided by a mountain range, whose spine is rather to the north-west, so that the division is not equal. The interior is entirely occupied by these mountains, with long spurs running south and east, so that the longest rivers empty themselves in those directions, and are consequently in Dutch territory. Of these enormous, sluggish streams we must speak in the chapter about the Dutch possessions; here we are concerned with those in British territory. These, owing to the comparative nearness of the watershed to the coast, are rapid, rocky, and hardly navigable except for native boats.

The mountains are covered with jungle which extends to the sea-shore, except in some favoured valleys and where it has been artificially cleared. A journey inland partly along the route of the railroad and partly up the river Padas revealed to the writer the denseness and per-

sistency of this jungle, which in many places had already swallowed up again the clearings made for the line. Borneo is celebrated for its tropical wealth of flora, but the jungle does not present the luxuriant tangle of giant trees, wreathed in ferns and creepers, that is the popular idea of a tropical forest. The ground is densely covered with low scrub, above which rise the great white trunks of the primeval forest, and the ground is everywhere broken into small hills, rising gradually to great heights. The timber in this part of the island, at all events, is not a valuable asset. It is too isolated, and does not grow near the coast but among the hills and valleys which are difficult of access. A certain amount is floated down-stream to the north-east ports, and there are companies at work dealing with this industry, but no fortunes are being made.

Gold, it has been said, is found in almost every part, and this is true of North Borneo, but hitherto it has never been made to pay except by Chinese on a small scale. It is washed out of all the rivers in small quantities, and from time immemorial has been collected by the natives, but for some reason or other no organised attempt has been made to work it. Coal certainly exists in North Borneo, and in the island of Labuan is a seam which has been worked unprofitably for years, but which now, under a disinterested and capable manager, promises better things. Coal can be brought from the mine to the landing-stage at a cost of four shillings a ton, and sold at eight shillings. There was a certain output of diamonds from Sarawak at one time, but these seem to be nearly exhausted, the best diamonds coming from South Borneo. Along the coasts of Borneo it is usual to see wealthy natives and Europeans wearing

stones of large size, which, if well cut, would be of great value, but the cutting is usually done locally or in Java, and the stones lack the lustre they might have if properly treated. The Borneo diamond, as far as a casual observer can judge, is yellowish in colour. If a current story be true we may shortly see a number of these stones on the European market, for an arrangement made with the De Beers Company, which practically controlled the output of Bornean diamonds, has now reached the time limit.

The fact is that the mineral wealth of Borneo has never been fully explored. The expense attaching to a properly equipped scientific expedition in this country would be large, and a company which has to consider dividends hesitates at the initial outlay. Borneo itself remains a mystery. Like the adjoining island of Mindanao, it holds in its centre a country more virgin to the tread of the explorer than the heart of Africa. Dutch vessels have penetrated a considerable distance from the coast up the big rivers in the south, intrepid Englishmen are living in the wilds of the country belonging to the North Borneo Company, but they are only on the fringes.

The character of the country and the idiosyncrasies of its inhabitants are all in keeping. The coast, with a strip of more or less cultivated land on the north and north-west, is occupied by Malays, immigrants originally from Java. These, as we have seen, in comparatively fertile Brunei founded a great State and have since degenerated, as Malays always seem to do without foreign influence. This strip of inhabited land gets thinner towards the north, and as we round the island we find only wilder tribes of sea-going Malays, who dwell at the

mouths and along the banks of rivers. Sandakan, of course, has a population constantly recruited from the Philippines and Sulu islands, but as we follow the coast eastwards there are only small settlements of such tribes as the Bajaus, Bugis, or pirate Malays from the Celebes and elsewhere.

It may be roughly said that, with the exception of Brunei and Sarawak, the rest of the Malay population of Borneo is thinly scattered round the coast, and clustered into the sultanates of Kotei, Banjermassin, and Pontianak, which are reached by large rivers. This population is essentially composed of the sea-gipsies, and not of the higher grade of Malays who came from the semi-civilised Javanese States.

A little further inland, spreading into the mountains in some places, and having outlet at the coast in others, are the Dyaks, a taller, better-proportioned race than the Malays, to whom, however, they are akin. They have lank black hair, which they tie up, straight features, and a skin rather fairer than the Malays, though frequently tanned with exposure. On the coasts of North Borneo these people have been much modified by intermarriage, but many of their tribes remain whose manner of life, appearance, character, and language (despite the fact that many Malay words have been incorporated) are quite distinctive. A curious likeness certainly exists between the Dyaks and some of the pagan tribes of the Philippines, and confirms the theory already mentioned that these races and the Battaks of Sumatra belong to a period of immigration from the mainland before the Malay race had altogether evolved. They have obvious Mongol affinities, but are rather to be regarded as Indonesian or pre-Malays. It will be

remembered that, before the advent of these half-Malay, half-Caucasians, a race of pure Caucasians is supposed to have peopled the Archipelago, and to have spread to Polynesia, where they took root. Of these no trace has as yet been found in Borneo, but the Dyaks persistently

SEA-DYAKS

tell of wild tribes in the mountain interior who are tall and fair of skin. One is sorry to discount the fascinating speculations raised by this statement by casting any doubt on their veracity. But it is as well to add that they are equally sure that there exists a race of men with short thick tails, who, being unable to sit down with

comfort, carry about with them little plank seats with holes for their inconvenient appendages! The different tribes of Dyaks vary considerably. The Dusuns were described to us by an official who lived among them as the nicest people he had ever met, peaceable, willing to work, friendly, and dignified. A curious method of decoration practised by the women of this and some other tribes is the wearing of numerous metal

DUSUN WOMEN WEARING COILS OF WIRE

rings of different sizes round the body and arms, so as to almost cover them. Others are warlike, and make excellent scouts when employed in the Company's police. The officers of this body spoke with confidence of their Dyak recruits, who have behaved extremely well on several occasions. The Sikhs who are imported are on the whole a very inferior class, being merely the sweepings of India, and of no use in up-country work; they cannot march through jungle and must have their rations served regularly. The Dyaks, on the contrary, are

at home in the swampy jungle; they seem to be able to pick up food anyhow, shooting birds with their *sumpitans* or blow-pipes, making a fire in a few minutes, while in half an hour they will put together a shed for their commander. Nevertheless, jungle work is extremely trying, for not only mosquitoes and flies besiege the traveller, but leeches swarm out of the pools and fasten all over his body and legs. The Dyaks, moreover, are liable, if an evil omen occurs, to sit down and refuse to budge an inch, and they are not people to be coerced. One peculiarity betrays the savage, even when they have been drilled and trained. They cannot be induced to take wounded prisoners, and having tasted blood they will kill outright. In a description of an expedition against Sarawak head-hunters it is told that the irregular troops employed could not be prevented from cutting off the heads of their enemies and drying them in baskets over the camp fire.

The word "head-hunter" occurs immediately to one's mind on hearing of Borneo, coupled with the picture of the "Wild Man of Borneo," as seen in old geography books, drawn from a terrifying description of the orang-outang. The writer never encountered any of the latter, though they are still to be found and shot, but it is unfortunately more than possible that he, and every one who has travelled in Borneo, may have frequently been at close quarters with many of the former.

It is supposed that this execrable practice, formerly a sign of prowess, but now become even more senseless and horrible, as women and old people are frequently attacked from behind to furnish another head to the collection of a family, has been almost stamped out, and it is of course punished by the Government to the best

of their ability. It is, however, practically impossible, with the forces at their command, to control the wild and scattered tribes inland; and although head-hunting is supposed to be a dead letter in the territory, an official, visiting a native hut in one of the remoter districts, recently counted no less than thirty heads hanging round the walls. Some of these from their size were evidently female, and some undoubtedly *not* hundreds of years old, as the owners of the hut hastened to explain. Even the tribes subject to Sarawak still indulge in this pastime, and recently the Rajah had to send out a punitive expedition against them. The charge of cannibalism is also brought against many of the tribes, but the writer obtained no first-hand information as to this, although it is pretty certain that human sacrifice has been more or less common, and is still practised by the remoter tribes. A favourite game of the Chiefs used to be for one to send word to a neighbouring potentate that he was about to kill a slave,

A DYAK IN FULL WAR-DRESS

whereupon the other replied that he would kill two slaves; the first chief retorted by killing three, and the game was kept up till the available stock of slaves — usually prisoners of war — was exhausted. Report accuses the Dutch of winking at such performances when the Chiefs were friendly to Holland.

The Dyak houses are built on very high piles, and not infrequently one large building serves for the whole village, as on some frontiers of Burmah and in other semi-Malay countries. The height from the ground is a protection against attack, for as the floors are not solid, and the people sleep on grass-mats laid on them, they might be speared from below. Windows are non-existent or tightly closed. The attack is therefore made by fire, the people are smoked out, and in the hubbub and confusion that occurs the attacking party has a good chance. The writer has unpleasant recollections of a night passed in one of these dark, fetid communal houses in the Kachyen country between Burmah and China, among a not very friendly tribe, when he probably owed his preservation to the fact that he had previously disposed of all valuables, especially his arms and ammunition, and had therefore nothing to be stolen.

The Dyaks, like the kindred races in the Philippines, seem curiously difficult to tame or Christianise, and degenerate rapidly in contact with Europeans. A few, brought into constant contact with the Mussulman Malays, have adopted some of the forms of that religion, and speak of God as "*Tuan Allah*," but the majority retain their own rude superstitions, which can hardly be termed religion. In the north of Borneo many of these superstitions centre round the mighty mountain of Kinabalu, which rises to the height of

INTERIOR RIVER SCENE SHOWING CANOES AND HUTS OF BORNEO SAVAGES

some eight thousand feet. The people believe that their souls go after death to live on the summits of the mountain, and many of them have an unconquerable aversion to ascending it. Another quaint belief, easily explained by optical delusion and by the fact that none of them dared to make the experiment, is that, as one ascends, the body gets smaller and smaller, and would disappear altogther if the top were reached, and they say naïvely that they themselves witnessed this thing when St. John and Low made the ascent, and that if they had reached the top they would never have returned. This is only one of the many fantastic legends they tell. I may add that they have a version of the story of Creation, in which the woman is represented as spoiling the world by her impatience to get the work of Creation finished and by her forgetfulness of some essentials.

There are, so far as is known, no curly or woolly-haired Negritos in Borneo, but in the interior are found a race known as Muruts, probably the result of intermarriage with the aborigines, of small and degenerate physique, dark skin, and an extremely low standard of intelligence and civilisation. A missionary who had worked hard among these people, and had succeeded in making three converts (including his own servant), could give but little hope of their being raised to a higher plane. They live chiefly on rice and roots, and distil from the former an intoxicating liquor which is drunk by men, women, and children alike. Although degraded and dwindling, they are not amenable. When the Governor of North Borneo, calling a council of them, pointed out the harm it did their children to be made drunk and proposed to pass a law forbidding the admin-

istration of drink to children, they were extremely indignant, and finally only consented to an age limit of five years — after the age of five a child must be taught to drink! Such behaviour to their own offspring places this people in the instincts of humanity below many beasts. A Murut dance, commemorating the glories of head-hunting expeditions in past days, is interesting in its wild savagery, the accompaniment being played on *tom-toms* or drums, gongs (of which the Malay is always fond), and reed instruments, while *pangasi*, the spirit distilled from rice, which has rather an acid taste, is handed round in long bamboos. The Dyak war dances are, however, infinitely more picturesque and dramatic, reproducing the warfare most vividly — the attack, defence, and finally the victory.

A MURUT; WILD MAN OF BORNEO

Such, very briefly, are the native people who inhabit the portion of the island now under British protection. There remain two very important items in the population — the Europeans and the Chinese. It is obvious that

without a certain element of the former and a considerable influx of the latter it will be impossible to develop the country — Malays alone have never yet been equal to such a task. It may be urged that in Java they reached a very high standard both of agriculture and domestic civilisation, and that at an early date. But it must be remembered that they owed a large part of this first to the Hindoos, and secondly to the Arabs, and that they only reached this point in countries specially adapted for such development, such as the rich uplands of Menangkabo in Sumatra and the specially blessed island of Java. Their prosperity even in that island was on the decline when the Dutch took possession, and it is interesting to notice that in Java, where no encouragement has been given to aliens to come and exploit the country, the Dutch masters prevented the backslidings of the native race by coercing them into work. This question has been referred to before, and is merely mentioned here to emphasise the fact that no Malay race has worked out its own salvation. In the Malay Peninsula the natives achieved nothing until their country came under the ægis of Britain, and the development of mineral wealth which has caused the prosperity of the peninsula has been accomplished not by Malay but by Chinese labour. It therefore seems inevitable that Borneo must depend largely on outside races for its future, or rather on one outside race — the Chinese.

We now come again to the question which must constantly recur in this study of the Pacific — the labour problem. It is hardly understood in England and the States how serious this difficulty has already become. We are accustomed to think of the East as peopled with more or less tractable natives who can be bent to our

will and used, but the fact is that of all the peoples of the East one, and one only, seems to fulfil the required conditions — the Chinaman is general factotum, and we cannot get on without him. Other races deteriorate and die out, cannot assimilate themselves to new conditions, cannot organise for purposes of trade, will not work on contract, become agitators, and the cause of political troubles like the Japanese in Hawaii; but the Chinaman, unpopular as he is, does none of these things. He seems to be able to start without capital and in a few years build up a business; he is peaceable, easily governed, industrious, and punctual. He used to be cheap, but alas! times are changed. John is beginning to appreciate his own indispensability, and already we have seen how in Singapore and Hong Kong the price of service is increased, while John in the higher walks of life has waxed fat and kicks.

As for John in North Borneo, he has been for ages the petty trader and middleman of the island, and every place on the coast has its row of tidy shops, its wonderfully stocked stores, and little colony of coolies, but John cannot be persuaded to go inland. A large find of minerals would tempt him, as in the Malay Peninsula, for that leads to big wages and a quick return for the labour expended; but to work in the jungle on the railway, to settle, and become agriculturists and reclaim the land bit by bit — that is not to his liking, and the offer of the British North Borneo Company of three acres of land and a free passage met last year with response from only ten individuals. Nevertheless, the present Chinese population is of great importance, and the opium farms controlled by them are a valuable asset to Government. It is perhaps necessary to explain, in view of the

opposition raised in certain quarters to Chinese immigration, that this naturally occurs in self-governing colonies or territories, where the Chinaman is not a good citizen, although often a useful subject. Opposition also occurs in countries like the Philippines where the governing race are anxious to protect the natives. It is therefore in a constantly narrowing circle of countries that John is welcome, but despite that fact he is so essential that he will not be driven to take refuge in uncongenial spheres.

There remains the question of settlement by Europeans, and this, save for overseeing and directing, is out of the question. Labuan is sometimes quoted as possessing a climate suitable for Europeans, and it is true that on the hill-tops of the little range which runs through it a breeze is generally to be had. But to say that the island generally is blessed with a temperate climate is certainly inaccurate, and down by the coast it is extremely malarious and unhealthy. The first British troops sent there at the time of the occupation had their barracks in the town and were nearly decimated by fever. European children are pale and languid, while adults suffer in various ways unless they can go home at intervals. North Borneo generally is still in too wild a state to be healthy. With the clearing of jungle and draining of swamps it will no doubt improve, but at present fever is a terrible scourge, and the Company's officials are constantly down with it. The writer on his short journey inland passed one day a post where were two young follows, cadets of the Company, in charge of the telegraph line. One was down with fever, the other quite well. A day or two later, on the return journey, the second was found to be also fever-stricken, and so

weak he could hardly be taken down the river to the house of a doctor at the next station. There were about twenty English ladies altogether in North Borneo at the time of the writer's visit, and they are not able to keep their health without going away frequently. It is impossible to leave the subject without a tribute to the pluck and cheerfulness displayed by Englishwomen under such conditions. Life in the outposts of our Empire is often trying to men, and the Europeans of North Borneo have much in their lot to make it especially so to women. At Labuan and Sandakan a certain standard of comfort is reached, but even there no ice is to be had unless a passing ship has a little to spare. Sandakan is fortunate enough at times to get some frozen mutton from Hong Kong, but the usual meat is beef from the scraggy cattle that have been imported, and even this is not to be had except at Sandakan and Labuan. Generally a few precious cows and goats are kept for milk, while at most places neither beef nor milk is to be had, only tinned meat and game. A small deer is sometimes to be shot, and there are usually plenty of wild duck, pigeons, and other birds, while on the coast fish is abundant, but the only real stand-by is the eternal fowl, of which one gets so tired in the East. Housekeeping is no sinecure even in the coast towns, and up-country the men subsist entirely on tinned things, and the writer only saw one who had a vegetable garden and some goats which he kept for their milk. Sandakan, in regular communication with Hong Kong, is able to obtain supplies punctually, but the communication between Singapore and the West coast, of which mention will be made later, is so irregular that the island of Labuan has been known to run out of soda-water — it does not sound

very serious, but imagine this in the middle of the hot season, and with no ice or spring water.

The great drawback to the country is poverty. The Company has the bugbear of dividends ever before its eyes. The salaries of officials are too small to allow them any margin for luxuries, which in the East are almost necessities, and added to this there is no pension on retiring, so that men must either attempt to save or else look out for better posts. The appointments are without examination, though cadets must pass in Malay after a residence of so many months. The colloquial Malay, it

A NORTH BORNEO COAST TOWN

may be added, is extremely easy to acquire, and is a sort of *lingua Franca* on the coast, but it is a matter for regret that none of the officials speak any of the numerous native dialects.

Notwithstanding these things, the *personnel* of the Company's Civil Service is wonderfully satisfactory. At the time of the writer's visit the post of Governor was filled by Hugh Clifford, well known as a successful official in the Malay States and the brilliant writer on Malay life and character whose studies divide with those of Sir Frank Swettenham the honour of being the most truthful and illuminating pictures of this interesting race ever published. Mr. Clifford's views as to what was

wanted in North Borneo were not in accordance with the policy of the Company, and he accordingly resigned his post and left the island after a year's residence, during which he had gained the affection and respect of the entire staff and had instituted some very useful reforms. He was succeeded by another able and popular official from the Straits, Mr. Birch. As to other posts, that of Colonial Secretary is filled by a man who has devoted his life to the study of the country, while the offices of Treasurer General, Auditor General, Postmaster General, Head of Customs (one is inclined to add, Lord High Everybody Else) are filled by a hard-worked and painstaking official at Sandakan, who has spent thirty years in the country and has great influence over the natives.

It is obvious that very multifarious duties must fall to the lot of the subordinates of the Company who are sent as Residents (with a few Sikhs) to maintain order and administer justice in wide and lawless districts. These officials are often, owing to the lack of senior men, mere cadets who have only been a short time in the country and are entirely fresh to the work. The devoted manner in which they perform their duties, isolated, surrounded by semi-savages, often ill and badly fed, is a pleasant proof that Britons still have those qualities which have made them a great colonising power. It may be added that as a rule they are men of good family and education — the class, in fact, which has always succeeded best in dealing with natives. It is impossible to refrain from telling the story of a young fellow who, at the time of the writer's visit, had been for four years at the most remote and isolated post of the telegraph line. He was absolutely alone, except for a few Dyak police, among the

people called Muruts, whose character I have already described. His chief link with the world was the telephone wire which connected him with the nearest post, and through this the lonely man conversed every day. A further distraction was introduced when his next-door neighbour got a gramaphone, and these two, with some thirty miles of broken country between them, sat every evening and chuckled as the instrument wheezed out "Daisy Bell" or "Killaloo." A man who could live like that, maintain complete order in the drunken tribe around him (who had become much attached to him), and be described as one of the best officials in the Company, is too good to be wasted.

There is really only one town in British North Borneo, Sandakan, the capital, which lies in a splendid bay, is capable of accommodating a squadron, and is backed by a line of hills on the top of which a cooling breeze can be obtained. Sandakan, made pleasant to visitors by the hospitality of the Company's officials, is a lovely spot. There are rides round the cliffs on the coast which are made shady all the way by giant ferns and palms; there is the quaintest of Malay villages running out into the water on one side, and a flourishing Chinese quarter with a big bazaar on the other. There is a hospitable club, with pretty tennis lawns, where a Filipino band plays really well several times a week. The private bungalows surrounded by shady gardens climb up the sides of the hills, and are extending further afield till the latest ones lose sight of the town and look over the other side, where again is the sea, for Sandakan lies on a small peninsula. There are no carriages, for the roads are far too steep and in the rains are frequently washed away. Every one rides the sturdy little Sulu ponies, or is carried in one of

the half-dozen chairs by Chinese coolies. Going out to dinner in these chairs is something of an experience, for the angles at which one is tilted arouse the liveliest apprehensions when the road is pitch dark. The ladies usually prefer to fasten up their silk skirts and trust to their sure-footed ponies.

The official who lives at Sandakan has already been referred to, and in the absence of the Governor rules over the place with fatherly benignity. He knows every man, woman, and child, and all come to him with their grievances. It is said that if they are allowed to tell their story in their own way they will, after every one has had his say, accept his decision without a murmur, and as this method of dealing with the Malay is one that deserves trial in other parts of the Archipelago, a story illustrating it may not be out of place. A certain Chief, in a more or less piratical excursion up one of the North Bornean rivers, espied the daughter of a powerful sultan, and desiring her in marriage made advances to her father. He was at first refused, but at length told that on payment of a substantial price he might have the maiden. So he sailed away in his canoes and, collecting all the treasures he could beg, borrow, or steal, came back to demand his bride. The presents were accepted, but more shilly-shallying followed, and at length he was driven away without the object of his affections. This story was a matter of forty years old, but recently the devout lover, visiting the family of his former lady-love, had been annoyed to see, among their most prized possessions, a bronze inlaid gun which had been part of the loot he had parted with. He now brought a suit for its recovery. While evidence was being given a third old man was seen shaking his head and muttering, and he announced to the arbitrator that

he too had been cheated, the maiden being originally his betrothed, and that by suing for her hand Chief number one had injured *him*. The unravelling of this ancient history took many days, but at the end every one was satisfied. The award was that, as every one had behaved

JOLO CHIEF AND ATTENDANTS

badly (more or less) in the matter, the gun should be sold and the money given to the priest for the mosque! One more story illustrating the blind confidence of the Malay in the White Man who has won his confidence. A poor fellow working in some sawmills was terribly

scalded by the bursting of a boiler. He was taken to the hospital, wrapped in oil and cotton-wool, and made as comfortable as possible till the doctor should arrive. The official already mentioned was near by and came at once to the spot to do what he could. "*Tuan*" (master), groaned the sufferer; "help me!" "Lie still, lie still, my poor fellow; the doctor will come soon and will put you all right." Restless with pain, the man tried to rise, "Help me! Help me! *Tuan*." "Lie still, keep quiet till the doctor comes," said the Englishman pityingly, and there was silence for a time. Then the light grew clearer in the tortured eyes, the poor half-savage raised himself to a sitting posture, and said in a quiet, calm voice, "If *Tuan* — my master — cannot help me — then — then — I am brave to die!" and so saying he fell back on the pillows, and the spark of life went out like the flame of a candle.

Labuan, the second town in importance to Sandakan, although the sanatorium of the island, is one of the deadest places imaginable. There is an air of departed life about it; the ghosts of past British occupation fill it with melancholy. The deserted, untidy wharf with a few solitary corrugated-iron go-downs, the straggling row of Chinese shops, the long white road bordered with cheap wooden bungalows — the Eurasians trying to keep their rooms cool with grass blinds — and smothered in palms and rank greenery — all these lead to the pretty Government House, standing in park-like scenery, but so situated that the breeze cannot reach it. The heat is intense. Beyond this the road winds up past some better built bungalows and on to the hill-tops, where are the uncomfortable-looking wooden hospital, the telegraph quarters, and the cemeteries. A tragic interest hangs round these forlorn little

VIEW OF LABUAN

burying-grounds, overgrown with grass and weeds, for here, too often, the dead cannot rest in peace. One particular grave has been rifled three times, and the bones spread abroad, and it is supposed that the outrage is the work of some of the ruder tribes among which the man who was buried once used to live, and that they are hunting for something they believe him to have possessed, or for some portion of his skeleton as an amulet. This horrible practice of disturbing graves has been common among the wilder Malays, and when a former Governor of Labuan in Crown Colony days had the misfortune to lose his wife, he was so much afraid that her tomb might be desecrated that, at dead of night, with the aid of an old and faithful Malay servant, he buried her in the garden of Government House and concealed the grave. Only the old servant, who is still living, knows the spot, though there have been many guesses as to its locality. There is buried treasure in Government House garden, and the ghost of an ancient priest wanders at night trying to find some one to help him dig it up. Appearing on one occasion to a Governor's wife, he frightened her so that she was obliged to leave the place. The ancient priest is no figment of the imagination, but really existed and is remembered by many. Half Spanish, half Malay, he was a pirate in the Malay seas, and in one of the islands had come across some of those hidden treasures which every Malay believes to exist all over the Archipelago. He was smitten with repentance for his evil life, took half of the treasure and buried it in Government House garden and with the other half went to Rome, purchased the forgiveness of his misdeeds, and returned in priest's garb to labour for the rest of his life among his quondam associates. But whether Father

Quateron had forgotten the exact site of his buried wealth, or whether he put off digging it up until too late, the writer cannot tell. Enough that, as twilight falls over the grassy slopes with their shady trees, and the little gleam of blue water in the distance fades to a streak of white and dies out altogether, a figure in a long cassock is said to wander through the grounds and with white face to turn to the house and implore assistance in his search.

Apropos of this story, it may be said here that the Malays are intensely superstitious. When Wallace was visiting the Dutch East Indies he was told that one island, Timor, was different from others because there were no ghosts there — Java, they said, was full of ghosts, and the word "Preanger," used to signify a large district in that island, is a Hollandised version of Malay words meaning the "country of ghosts." Of the other "towns" in North Borneo little need be said. Kudat is perhaps the most flourishing, as it has large fruit gardens in the neighbourhood. The European population of these places consists generally of a few officials — Resident, Assistant, Doctor, and a clerk or two, with perhaps the representative of a timber-cutting Company, and on the railway lines under construction a few employees. The tobacco plantations are mostly some little distance inland, and each employs European overseers and managers. It has been one of the mistakes of the country that in former days a very inferior class of men were employed by Companies on tobacco plantations. The work is extremely arduous and, until a good position is reached, is not well paid. The coolies need constant supervision and take any opportunity for shirking their work, or even run away to avoid fulfilling the terms of their contract. The punishment for such flight is a

thrashing, which is administered by a policeman of the Company under direction of the Resident, and is not a very formidable affair. An amusing instance of the effrontery of runaway coolies occurred during the writer's visit, when two, having escaped from the plantation, embarked in full daylight and attired in their best clothes on the steam yacht which was taking his party and the Resident of the district to the next port. A messenger from the plantation arrived on the wharf just as the yacht was leaving, and the boat was put back to discharge the truants.

While on the subject of tobacco plantations it must be said that in the opinion of many people almost all the land at present available for that culture is already taken up. A very special kind of land is required, and immense areas to produce a yearly crop, since the plant can only be grown on the same land once every four years. A mistake was made in granting tobacco concessions to Companies without reserving the right to take up the land in case of non-cultivation. A great deal of land is now lying fallow owing to the failure of Companies brought about by the incompetency and corruption of their employees. The leaf when successfully grown is of very fine quality, equal to anything produced in other countries, and is used chiefly as a wrapper. The whole tobacco industry of North Borneo strikes one as being capable of far more satisfactory results if facilitated and nursed a little. The most prosperous people in the territory are the managers of the large estates, and the only stone house, which is also the only stone building except Sandakan church (still unfinished), in North Borneo, is the residence of a Dutch manager on the north-east coast.

An endeavour has been made in the foregoing pages to give some idea of the conditions of life, both native and European, in this little-known island, — a few facts and statistics will give some idea of its practical value and importance.

The trade of British North Borneo in 1899 was £245,700 in imports and £344,000 in exports, making a total of £589,700, and there has been a steady increase during the past ten years. Of the exports tobacco is by far the most important, the others being cutch, timber, gutta-percha, sago, rattans, india-rubber, birds'-nests, camphor, trepang, salt fish, damar, hempseed, pearls, mixed shell, and copra. Coffee and sago are also mentioned as exports, but the output is extremely small, and sago, always grown for food by natives of a low grade of civilisation, has decreased of late years.

This is a very significant list, for it will be seen at a glance that tobacco, the only thing cultivated, and timber are practically the only valuable articles. The others are jungle produce, and are almost entirely absorbed by the Chinese, who get the rattans, birds'-nests, and so forth from the Dyaks, whose one useful occupation in life is to hunt for them. It is obviously not a trade which admits of any great expansion, and if larger quantities were exported many of the articles would become scarce.

The import list includes all the necessities of life, including a very large proportion of tinned provisions and also in late years of railway materials. The market for European goods, however, is mostly confined to the Chinese and the *personnel* of the Company. The civilised Malays dress in cotton, but they are not a spending people, and the wilder tribes do not trouble about cos-

tume at all, or wear merely the native manufacture. They do not want furniture, for their houses are empty, and a grass-mat is all they need for bed, table, or chair. Their one extravagance is jewellery, and this

A PRIVATE FLEET FROM JOLO ARRIVING AT KUDAT

they buy, cheap and nasty, from the Chinese traders, who get it, cheaper still, from Birmingham or "made in Germany."

It must not be supposed that the British North Borneo Company are resting on their oars and letting the Territory go its own way. They are animated by a sincere desire to open up the country, that being an expression usually synonymous with success and prosperity. The method they have adopted has been at once ambitious and expensive, but after a careful study the writer is obliged to confess that there is little chance of its proving successful. As one of the most ardent advocates of improved communications in all quarters

of the globe, he is compelled to state that in his opinion railways are not the crying need in North Borneo. There are no promising agricultural or mining districts to be tapped, and such trade as is carried on has always been centred round the rivers. The natives, whose property is in kind, will not be benefited by a line, however cheap freight may be, for they can convey their goods to the coast almost free of cost in their canoes. The expense of laying a line through dense jungle and along precipitous gorges has been enormous, and at the time of the writer's visit the rails had already disappeared in places. The question is not one which can be treated in detail here, but it must be added that, from some knowledge of railway engineering, the writer is inclined to think that any extension of railways into North Borneo would, at the present stage of its development, be foredoomed to failure. In any case the lines will have to be heavily subsidised to provide the cost of upkeep. The project of running a railway across from west to east is chimerical, the hilly, broken nature of the country involving grave engineering difficulties.

Another drawback to the progress of the country is the lawless condition of the interior tribes, and it must be understood that even the coast is not free from disturbances. The actual settlements of the Company have been attacked within a comparatively recent period. Kudat, at the time of the writer's visit, was just recovering from such an attack, in which the guard-house and arsenal were actually taken possession of, and a much more serious result was only averted by the fact that the invaders could not find the right kind of ammunition for their guns. This skirmish was not without its humorous side, however, for a young Scotch official,

stalking the marauders and not wishing to give the alarm by firing, polished off three with his fists, and tied them up while he went to seek for further victims.

It has been said already that Chartered Companies are only temporary expedients, and it is obvious that North Borneo requires treatment quite different from that which can be given by such a Company. Money spent on reducing the natives to law and order, in educating and ruling them, in scientific explorations of the mineral wealth of the country, in experiments in agriculture and fruit farming, in the introduction of various trees and plants likely to improve the soil or produce good crops, in harbour-works, roads, and railways, — all these are for a time non-productive measures, but without them neither the country nor the native is given a chance. A glance at the sums spent originally on similar colonies will show that few have reached their present state of prosperity without great initial outlay.

The question may be asked, whether the game is worth the candle, and in answer the reader is referred to the statement of the advantages possessed by Borneo at the beginning of this chapter. It is certain that as the Pacific is more and more energetically exploited, this large island cannot be left out of the reckoning. It possesses at all events one extremely good harbour on the north, and that in a position of peculiar importance now that the Philippines have fallen to the United States.

North Borneo is an uncultivated estate. It is not at present a credit to the nation whose flag protects it. It presents difficulties and possibilities which cannot be solved or realised without a change in the present *régime* — a statement not intended to cast a slur on the North

Borneo Company, but to indicate that a trading Company cannot deal with the new conditions that have arisen. The question will certainly become imminent before long, and when the moment arrives the writer can only hope that the British Government will accept the responsibilities involved by its presence in this backward corner of the globe.

THE DUTCH IN THE PACIFIC

BATTAK WOMEN WEAVING,
SUMATRA

CHAPTER XI

THE EXTERNAL POSSESSIONS

A GLANCE at the map will show what a vast possession is that of Holland in the East Indies, and also how compact — on paper at all events — since the broad belt of Dutch influence seems to gather up all the islands from Sumatra on the west to New Guinea on the east within some fifteen degrees of latitude. The northern part of Borneo and the east side of New Guinea have been cut off, and are the property of Great Britain, and Great Britain and Germany, respectively, while the decayed power of Portugal retains part of the island of Timur. Otherwise Holland is supreme in this section of the Pacific, which includes Java, the most prosperous, beautiful, and fertile of all the Malay islands and the one which attained to the greatest height of native civilisation; the Molucca or Spice islands, originally the lodestone which drew the nations of Europe to the Eastern

isles; South Borneo, richest in mineral wealth; Celebes, occupied by the most enterprising traders of the Malay race; the large island of Sumatra, with its valuable crops of tobacco and coffee; and a number of smaller islands, all of a certain value.

When, in the settling up of international affairs at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, Holland received back her East Indian territories, she was confronted by difficulties of many kinds. Java was practically subdued; the energy of Stamford Raffles, while it had led him into administrative mistakes, had certainly established the rule of the white man firmly all over the island, but Sumatra was almost a terra incognita, and Holland's influence in the other islands was practically limited to a settlement at Macassar and monopolies in their principal produce.

The Dutch have divided their colonial empire into two parts, the internal possessions consisting of Java and Madura, and the external which include all the other islands or parts of islands.

In Java the administrative system is elaborate and complete, but in the smaller islands Dutch rule is merely of the nature of slight supervision. A Dutch official, or *contrôleur*, is generally found on the more important, and these are grouped into Residencies, but many are only visited by the Resident once a year. The *contrôleur* is practically only an adviser, while the native headman who is supposed to hold office under the Dutch Government is little checked or assisted and must get on as best he can. If anything has to be done by the local Dutch officials reference must first be made to the Governor-General at Buitenzorg in Java, and this system of centralisation has a paralysing

effect on both officials and traders. Men are said to have grown grey waiting for an answer to an application for a concession, and though the writer cannot vouch for this statement he can bear witness to the grumbling that goes on in every outpost of the Dutch Indian Empire.

The island next in size to Borneo, Sumatra, and Java is Celebes, chiefly interesting by reason of its peculiar flora and fauna, which belong to neither the Asiatic nor Australian groups, being deficient in their characteristic species although possessing affinities with both.

Of the fauna the most remarkable are the ape-baboon, the four-tusked pig, and a curious bee-eater, while there are several unique species of birds, all of which are only remotely connected with groups now inhabiting the Asiatic or African continent. The zoology and botany of Celebes have not as yet been exhaustively explored. The most interesting account of the island is given by Wallace, who described with enthusiasm the beautiful country and pleasant natives of the Minahasa district on the north. The island is divided into a considerable number of native states ruled by Rajahs, some of whom are assisted with advice by a Resident, while others are quite independent, only their foreign relations being under supervision. Internecine disputes are more or less common. All the natives so far as known belong to the Malay race, and are in various stages of civilisation, though some of the mountain tribes are hardly more than savages, being Pagans, without writing, fixed government, or the arts of weaving and of working metals. The most prominent of the natives are the Bugis, a Malay tribe of marked characteristics who at one time established their power over a large portion of the archi-

pelago. They are marked by a more determined character than the average Malay, are great sea-goers and incorrigible pirates. They have found their way to most of the islands of the archipelago, and have especially emigrated in great numbers to the east and south coasts of Borneo. In referring to the different branches of the Malay family, it must be remarked that to an ordinary traveller the difference in appearance is so slight as to be hardly noticeable. As the writer made his way from island to island he was frequently told, "That is a Bugi, these are Sulus, yonder are some Javanese, those again are Bajaus." To the uninitiated all were of the same build and appearance — short, slightly built, with copper-coloured skin, prominent cheek-bones and mouths (though the lips are never fleshy like the negro's), dark and slightly oblique eyes, coarse black hair, generally cropped, wearing either a checked *sarong* or a pair of absurd trousers of much-flowered cotton, a loose cotton jacket, a round cap or handkerchief twisted round the head, and a sash or belt with a *kris* stuck through. There are differences of costume, — the Macassar men wear a conical cap, the Sulus a peaked straw hat and tight embroidered breeches, the Javanese who have made the Mecca pilgrimage wear large green turbans, — but throughout these islands one is constantly struck with the similarity which prevails and also with the resemblance between the Malay and his half-brothers of Burma and Siam.

It is frequently insisted that the different Malay races speak totally distinct languages and cannot understand each other, and it is certainly true that in the Malay Archipelago and the Philippines no fewer than eleven distinct methods of writing have been evolved, all bear-

ing evidences of having been invented independently of each other, but at the same time all framed on similar principles. When, however, we recollect the vagaries of spoken language among our own uneducated people — the difference in dialect, for instance, between a Sussex yokel and a Lancashire lad, or a Cockney and a Southron Scot — and remember that the Malay tribes have evolved their languages in distant, isolated islands, we cannot be surprised at its many forms. The low Malay, spoken generally on the coasts of all the islands and at Singapore, is full of words borrowed from many languages, especially from Arabic, and bears little relation to the older and purer forms.

Macassar is the principal town of Celebes and the most important in the Dutch Indies next to the cities of Java. Its open harbour is a straight line half a mile long, backed with numerous godowns and offices, and often crowded with native craft, above which rise some of the larger Chinese trading ships and perhaps the mail-steamer of the Java North Coast service. Macassar has fortnightly communication with Sourabaya direct, and other steamers call only at intervals of several weeks, so the traveller may easily be stranded for ten days without a chance to get away. There is no direct line from Singapore or British Borneo, so that foreign visitors are few and far between, and the English residents number only two or three. The fortress built by the Portuguese still stands, and the walls are bristling with guns — probably useless. Behind these walls is a surprise for all who have not travelled in the Dutch Indies before — a Dutch town, where least we should expect it, in this far-away corner of the East, with red-tiled roofs, pointed gables, and glass windows with small

panes. The streets are drained by canals, there is a church and belfry, and a big well-built stone club-house, close to which stands the not over-comfortable hotel. The whole district is flat, and beautiful roads lead to the country, — wide, grass-edged, and over-arched by splendid trees. Except at the harbour there is an air of quiet and somnolence over all. It is easy to realise that this is one of the places where for two centuries the Dutch have been sitting still, making money slowly, and never infested with the restless desire to do more, or the unconquerable tendency to spread out over the country and try to prevent the natives from making fools of themselves, which would have attacked Englishmen under similar conditions.

Coffee is largely cultivated in the district, and also in the Menando Residency at the north of the island, in the beautiful country so admired by Wallace. This district bears eloquent testimony to the good work done by Holland when she really attempted it, but it must be noted that the reformation was almost entirely due to the discovery of commercial possibilities in the country. Until 1822, when Holland had practically been in possession for a century and a half, nothing had been done beyond the establishment of a small Dutch settlement, but the discovery that the elevated land was suitable for coffee brought about the introduction of the "culture system" under Javanese instructors. The people, hitherto Pagan savages, took kindly to the new *régime*, finding that they could earn more by work on the plantations and purchase better food and clothing. The headmen invested with responsibility rose to the occasion, villages were improved, churches and schools built, and now a beautiful, highly cultivated land has tidy

TYPICAL LANDING STAGE AND BUNGALOW

villages, with flower gardens and fruit trees, and a happy, well-dressed, and peaceful people of whom a large number are Christians. The residential town is neat and pretty, and an excellent road system connects the towns and villages. The writer was not able personally to visit this earthly paradise, where crime is said to be almost unknown, but all travellers agree as to the unusually satisfactory state of affairs, and attribute it largely to the introduction of the forced labour system. This method, so foreign to the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon, has been widely condemned, but one point raised by Wallace in his description of this very place is worth consideration. The people are obliged to sell to Government only all the coffee they grow. Government pays a fixed price, and that is just sufficient to maintain life comfortably — there is no margin for extra expenditure on European liquors and other articles demoralising to the native. This limitation has made the Minahasan a happy native, and the education granted him is not sufficient to breed a divine discontent. He is happy because he has food, shelter, sunshine, leisure to play a drum or a bamboo flute, flowers to look at, and a numerous family growing up around him. He knows nothing better and consequently has no ambitions. Is he, or is he not, a truly happy man? It must be owned that the sleepiness and lack of enterprise even in this favoured district would send an Englishman or American crazy, or drive him to drastic measures in order to make things "hum."

Opposite the island of Celebes lies the east coast of Borneo. On the Dutch part of this island little or no attempt has been made to cultivate the country. Whereas the British territory is closely backed by high mountains, and the very coast is high and broken, the

eastern and southern sides of the island present a uniform low straight line, only broken by the deltas of the great rivers.

Dutch Borneo is almost as unexplored as most parts of New Guinea. The coast has a sparse sprinkling of piratical natives, the rivers have a population living half on the banks and half in the water, and there are one or two sultanates some little distance inland which own allegiance to Holland. The late Sultan of Kotei, whose dominions the writer visited, is thoroughly typical of a third-rate nineteenth century Rajah under European influence. Having visited some of the Dutch officials, whose principal settlement is some miles further down the Kotei river, he acquired a great taste for the latest products of civilisation and promptly ordered quantities of musical boxes, steam launches, jewellery, mechanical toys, and other costly articles, while the whole of his recently erected palace was lit with electric light. He displayed great indignation, however, when requested to pay for these things, and many of his debtors are still vainly trying to extract a few pounds out of his successor.

Samarinda, the chief trading place on the Kotei, the largest river of Borneo, is worthy of a short description. On one bank of the wide stream is a Malay town, built as usual on piles standing half in half out of the water. Everybody rows about instead of walking. Small boys who have not yet arrived at the dignity of clothing scoop out canoes for themselves and paddle about with the utmost independence, liking nothing better than to shoot across the wake of the steamer and rock about in her wash. It is an ordinary sight to see a naked youngster sitting on the extreme end of his little

canoe, so that his feet are in the water and his boat tilted right up behind. How he maintains his balance is a marvel, but he sits thus paddling leisurely for hours. On the other side of the river are wharves, each stacked with a different commodity, then godowns, and then a Chinese street with the usual shops and the usual gutter where children and fowls play together. At one end a few whitewashed bungalows proclaim the presence of

ON THE RIVER, SAMARINDA

Europeans, and the "Hotel Wilhelmina" stands in an enclosure in which an attempt at gardening has resulted in a fine crop of ornamental flower pots and a few dusty hibiscus. The "Hotel Wilhelmina" is not inviting, despite a plentiful coat of whitewash over its exterior, but at the other end of the town is a pretty, shady road leading up a small hill, where are some pleasant-looking, palm-shaded bungalows.

Banjermassin, an important town on the Barito river

which empties itself on the south coast, is altogether more pretentious. It possesses large native markets, several European stores, a club-house with a garden and shady trees under which the ante-dinner *pahit* may be consumed, several public buildings, schools, and so forth. Banjermassin has also a garrison and a large barrack and hospital, but the feature of the place is a lovely road called the Boomplatz, shaded by trees specially imported and planted (for this is a country where only palms and low scrub are found), and having a canal on either side. The word canal does not conjure up visions of beauty, and in the daytime, when the sun beats fiercely down, one is inclined to look askance on these sluggish waters, even though they are flushed daily by the rising of the tide, for into them goes the drainage of the houses on either side. But walk in the Boomplatz by moonlight — the tropical moonlight — and the scene has a weird beauty quite indescribable. The road is covered with a lace-work of black on white, deepening to inky shadows at the sides, through which the white trunks of palms rise like spectres, while a thousand tiny, jewelled lights flash to and fro — the fireflies. The whole scene — overarching branches through which the stars are peeping, shadowy shapes of darkness and slender shafts of silver — is reflected in the streaks of water on either side. The pale palms wave slightly in the evening breeze and their paler reflections quiver, breaking the ebony and silver mirrors into a thousand ripples.

Our first view of the Boomplatz was at night, and the illusion was heightened by the shadowy, swathed figures with dark eyes that passed us in the moonlight. In the morning, as people took a constitutional at about 6.30

A.M. and already began to feel the sun too hot, the Boomplatz was like a pretty shady country road at home, and to carry out the simile there were the children coming along to school with satchels and books, clean white frocks and suits, and a general air of having been recently brushed and washed. But these were no healthy, pink-cheeked Dutch children, but little wizened imps with skins varying from a sickly yellow to a dirty brown, the

IN THE BOOMPLATZ, BANJERMASSIN

blackest and biggest of eyes, and skinny little arms and legs, browner and yellower in contrast with their white clothes.

It was here that we were brought face to face with one of the most difficult problems of Holland, though one of which she is practically oblivious. There is no racial distinction in the Dutch East Indies, the Eurasians, as we call them, taking much the same place in

society as their white fathers. Also the Dutch soldiers enlisted in the colonial army, being without any facilities or encouragement to seek a wife of their own blood, invariably contract ties with native women. No sight is more common than that of a white man in Dutch uniform walking through the town accompanied by a brown wife and several yellow pickaninnies. The arrangement is more than winked at, it is absolutely recognised, and in some cases no doubt a form of marriage is gone through. In Banjermassin a pure-blooded white child is hardly to be found.

THE MORNING WALK

Besides the Boomplatz there is little to admire in Banjermassin. The ramshackle hotel built over a swamp, where the slops are just poured out of the window, and all deficiencies and signs of damp in the rooms are covered with a coat of whitewash, is not a place to stay long at, albeit the food is fairly good; mosquitoes are rampant, and after a glance at the stagnant water around one is not surprised. Fever must be common in this low-lying place, for the ground on which the town stands is in parts below the river level.

The interest and fascination of river life is strong in these Malay lands, where the people are almost amphibious and splash about in the water from the time they are babies. The scenery on the Banjermassin river reminded one constantly of Burma. The wide, slow stream, palm-fringed banks, great piles of golden fruit — bananas and oranges mostly, — the little cockleshell boats; the family parties going for an evening row, the women with their bright-coloured *sarongs* round their

heads; the graceful gondola-shaped boats of the wealthy natives and Chinese, who have abandoned merely utilitarian forms and have carved great swan-like prows and elaborately decorated awnings — all these glide over the sunlit water to the musical splash of the paddles. The drowsy heat, the brilliant colour, the brown faces, and the soft accents of the Malay tongue, seem like echoes of

ON THE BARITO RIVER

scenes in a far-off sunny past, full of the glamour and witchery of the East, which, once felt, for ever calls one to come again and leave the sunless Northern lands. This dream of *dolce far niente* only comes to one, however, when safe away from low-lying, mosquito-infected Banjermassin, and sitting comfortably on the deck of the steamer. Then, as the day wears on, we slip away down the mighty river, the palm-fringed banks glide past, little twinkling lights betray the fishing huts on either side, dark canoes shoot out and are swallowed up again in the twilight, and having stopped to take up a pilot (a recent arrangement which our captain

denounces as merely an imposition, since the officers of trading vessels know the delta better than the pilots) we pass through narrow channels, take some sudden turns, and soon are in the open sea again.

There are two lines of Dutch steamers plying every month regularly between Singapore, Banjermassin, and Kotei, the second going also to Bolangan, while a boat runs three times monthly between Banjermassin and Sourabaya.

A very different scene is presented by one of the oil-towns which have sprung up since Messrs. Samuels obtained concessions for exploiting petroleum in East Borneo. There are important wells up the Kotei river, but the oil is all brought for chemical treatment to Balik Pappan, a coast town lying in a beautiful and sheltered bay.

Four years ago this bay, although the best harbour on the coast, was unused. The jungle came down to the water's edge—great trees, scrub, rough palms, ferns and all the rank vegetation of a primitive forest. The bay teemed with fish which had not yet learnt to fear the fisher, so that the first comers could catch them in their hands. Five miles inland was a small settlement of Bugis, who collected edible nests and other jungle produce. Stories were current among the natives all along the coast of oil wells, and up the Kotei river there was one which the natives said had been burning for many years, and which they worshipped as a god. A Dutchman got a concession to work the oil, but for six years he laboured unsuccessfully to raise sufficient capital in Holland, and then sold his concession for about £35,000 to the English firm, who also pay him half a guilder a tun, so that he now gets a very nice little income. On

the deserted shore at Balik Pappan some four years ago landed an English manager with some sixty coolies, half Chinese, half Malay. Having built huts for temporary dwellings they began the work of clearing, but after three days the Chinese mutinied and were only reduced to submission by their fear of the Malays, who are warlike and always ready with their weapons. The latter prevented John from coming to the shore to get fish, and the lack of this indispensable article of diet worked wonders. The clearing went on, boring began, and the oil came. The first well struck is still yielding.

Balik Pappan now presents a busy sight, in great contrast to the sleepy Dutch towns. Numbers of round red reservoirs are studded along a platform, toilfully levelled in the sides of the steep bank that rises almost from the water's edge. Enormous sheds of corrugated iron are full of the latest machinery for distilling the oil. There are rows of giant boilers, with roaring fires beneath fed by single jets of flaming oil. The ground is a network of pipes carrying the oil from pump to tank, from tank to distillery and from distillery to reservoir, whence it is conveyed on a small line down a wharf to the oil-boats which are waiting to take it away to all parts of the East and even to Egypt.

The bungalows of the European officials of the Company are reached after a steep climb and command a pleasant breeze and a view of the whole bay. About thirty Europeans live here, with half a dozen ladies and as many children, and the climate is considered very healthy. The bungalows are neat and pretty, and there is an excellent club-house provided with two billiard tables, magazines, books and a piano. There is also a sort of general mess room, a large open building with

numerous small tables, where every one can get meals at a moderate cost, and so avoid keeping a cook. It is a sociable and pleasant arrangement, and a special boon to the bachelor community. All the houses are lighted by electricity and built of wood, cut by a saw-mill which has been established, and beautifully grained wood is found in the neighbourhood, which is used for furniture. Balik Pappan is quite gay at times and has tennis parties and dances, but amusements are limited by the roadless country, and there are no horses or any draught animals in the place. Food is rather lacking in variety, as only fish, fowls, and a little game can be got locally. There is no church or school at present, the Indian Mohammedans, locally known as Sikhs, of whom there are a small number engaged by the Company as police, being the only people who have a place of worship. The number of coolies employed is some 2000, and the superior workmen are Europeans of every nationality, many of them Armenians, Galicians, Russians, Greeks, Italians, and others.

The oil is now coming in great quantities, and even more is obtained at Sanger-Sanger, the other concession on the Kotei river. This most important industry is already making itself felt in the East, and will become of still more importance, if the dearness and scarcity of coal induces merchant ships to employ liquid fuel. Coal is said to be found extensively in the neighbourhood and also on the river banks, but at present it is almost unexploited and its possible value quite put in the shade by the abundant find of oil. The Dutch authorities are not well pleased that this valuable asset should be in the hands of a British Company, and put every possible obstruction in the way. All ships entering the

OIL WELLS, BALIK PAPPAN

bay of Balik Pappan must employ a pilot, and next year it is intended to establish a customs' house in the town.

The writer cannot end his description without recording the beauty of his last view of the oil-town, nestling in the lovely bay and backed by forest-covered hills. As the darkness settled down a thousand jets of oil were lighted along the water's edge and away into the woods where the wells are giving up their treasure. It was the most effective illumination imaginable, and the myriad yellow flaring lights reflected in the dark bay and throwing a lurid glare over the forest in the background made a never-to-be-forgotten picture.

Reference has already been made to the diamonds of South Borneo and the connection of the Rothschilds with their output. The writer has recently seen a statement in a text-book to the effect that the South Borneo diamond is superior to the African in colour and brilliancy, but can only repeat that the many specimens seen, some of considerable size, which had probably suffered from bad cutting, seemed yellow and rather lacking in fire.

Although it is impossible in the scope of this book to give a really complete idea of the Dutch Indies, one is inclined to linger over these "external possessions," because some account of them is necessary to convey a true idea of the status of Holland in the East. A description of Java and Sumatra alone would be misleading.

An island worthy of mention, on account of its peculiar position as the last point in the chain in which the Asiatic flora and fauna are found, is Bali, to which added interest is given by the fact that here the savant and philologist Van der Tunk took up his abode when

studying the Malay language. Boeleling, the chief town, lies flat on the shore and has a harbour and the usual godowns, club, and offices, all rather forlorn and deserted. Copra, extracted from the dried fibre of the cocoa-nut, is largely exported, and its oily smell hangs over the place. The Dutch have made a settlement in the hills, where climate and scenery are far more agreeable. Much of the country is highly cultivated, coffee being the chief product; but the greater part of the island has nothing but poorly built villages, with huts half mud, and little is done in the way of missionary or educational work. Nevertheless Bali was at one time the centre of a Hindoo civilisation almost equal to that of Java, and possesses two written languages and a written code of laws. The Hindoo religion is still practised and caste distinctions are maintained, but the people are degenerate.

The island of Lombok, which adjoins Bali, is the first in which the Australian flora and fauna begin. Until quite recently both Bali and Lombok were left almost entirely to their own devices, the Rajah of the latter being of the Balinese race and exercising a tyrannous power over the Sassaks who inhabit Lombok. The rising, and massacre of the Dutch, which took place in Lombok in 1894, have, however, led to considerable alterations, and the Dutch have strengthened their position in that island. The genesis of this affair was the oppression of the Rajah already mentioned. The Dutch, though nominally owning the island, kept no officials there, but being appealed to by the Sassaks, landed a small force, which was received in a friendly way by the Rajah, who afterwards surprised and killed many. Reprisals of course followed, and a full staff of officials is now kept on the island, while garrisons

are maintained at the port of Ampenan and at Mataram, the ancient capital, a little distance inland. Nevertheless internal disputes are constant among the interior tribes, and there is great destitution owing to the interruption of agriculture. In both Bali and Lombok are interesting Hindoo ruins, and in the latter are still to be seen the ancient palace and prisons of one of the Hindoo Rajahs bombarded by the Dutch in their expedition. As a rule the visitor to Dutch colonial towns is struck with the excellence of the roads which connect all places of importance with each other. These are usually shaded by fine trees, but, as one goes further east towards Australia, the islands assume a more barren aspect, and Timor at the furthest extremity of the chain is bare and mountainous. Though a certain amount of trade is maintained with all these islands and with the Molucca group, a Dutch *contrôleur* being resident at many of them, practically nothing is done in the way of civilisation or of administering the country.

A striking feature of these islands is the belt of volcanoes which runs through them; sometimes providing fertile soil, many of these are in constant eruption and have frequently destroyed thousands of inhabitants. The most impressive of these is perhaps Gunong Api, on the island of Banda in the Moluccas, the home of the nutmeg. Gunong Api seems to rise almost sheer from the water's edge, the little white town of Banda Neira perched on a green terraced island showing up in strong relief in the foreground. The place is crowned with a mediæval fortress, and many small forts, now deserted, are scattered about, remnants of the days when the old East India Company first established itself in the coveted Spice Islands. A nutmeg orchard is like nothing save

the sacred groves of classic writers, so rich and luxuriant, yet without all wildness, is its growth; with dense, shining, dark-green foliage and pendant fruit of dull yellow, with here and there the deep red of the mace seen in the heart of the split fruit. Above these orchards spreads a cover formed by the foliage of enormous canary trees, beautiful giants such as are seen in the gardens of Buitenzorg, their column-like trunks wreathed in trails of creeping plants and ferns. An air of melancholy hangs over Banda, however, for the greed of man turned her natural riches to a curse. Koen, one of the first Governors-General of the Dutch East Indies, in his efforts to obtain the monopoly of the nutmeg trade, almost exterminated the natives of this once busy island. Ternate, another of the Spice Islands, and once a busy market to which came traders from every part of the world, is the seat of a Resident, and also of a Sultan who holds sway over a large portion of the island. It was through a treaty with this potentate that the Dutch got possession of Western New Guinea, over which he was suzerain. Like other Dutch Indian ports, Ternate is a place of sleep, decay, and neglect. Nutmegs and coffee are cultivated, but the natives are indolent, and coolies have to be imported from neighbouring islands. In all these islands there is a large number of half-castes, of Portuguese as well as Dutch descent. Amboina affords the most notable instance of this, especially in the capital where the majority are Christianised and go to church, the men clad in hideous black cloth coats and trousers, the women in full black skirts, white *kibaya* or linen jackets, and with a handkerchief hanging in the left hand. The Amboinese are excitable, litigious, and despite their Christianity given to drink, which they dis-

CANAL AND FORTIFICATIONS, BANDA

til from the sugar palm, and are said to be otherwise very easy in their morals. A Dutch traveller writing a description of the beautiful Molucca islands, and growing weary of reiterating that there is a general air of stagnation and dead-aliveness about them all, tries to infuse a little life into his description of the harbour of Amboina, and records with unconscious sarcasm that "when the steamer arrives the pier of the Packet Company presents a lively appearance. A great many natives stand there, apparently to while away the time." Whiling away the time is the principal occupation of both Europeans and natives in the Moluccas to-day.

The most important of the external possessions is the large and beautiful island of Sumatra, whose southern littoral was known to sailors for centuries as the Pepper Coast. The interior boasts districts as fertile and highly cultivated as any in Java. Sumatra differs from all other Dutch East Indies in having still the remnants of a pre-Malay race, the descendants of a Caucasian stock. These are known as Battaks, and in character, custom, and appearance seem to resemble strongly the Borneo Dyaks and the so-called Indonesian tribes of the Philippines. As Sumatra is so near to the Asian continent, divided from the Malay peninsula by only a narrow strait, it seems remarkable that to this day it should remain not only partially unconquered, but also partially unexplored. The explanation is no doubt found partly in the presence of a race, natually robust and independent, rendered fierce and warlike by long struggles to repel the invader. The cannibalistic and head-hunting customs of these people struck terror into the heart of early traders, and the Hindoos who covered Java with their temples and overspread it with their influ-

ence, seem to have hardly penetrated the island nearest to their coasts.

The history of early foreign relations with Sumatra has been already told, and it only remains to give a brief description of the country and people. The inland scenery, as judged from photographs and descriptions (for travelling is difficult and only isolated parts can be safely visited by the ordinary traveller), compares favourably with that of any other part of the Dutch East Indies. The fairy-like beauty of the smaller islands, broken and scattered as they are in the bluest of waters, covered with foliage and crowned with the jagged grey and purple peaks of volcanoes; the smiling, peaceful loveliness of Java — these are varied in Sumatra by a wilder, more rugged type of scenery, and also by occasional stretches of dull flat swamp or thick impenetrable jungle.

BATTAK WOMAN

The northern part of Sumatra is a mountainous country, and is inhabited by a race who have defended themselves against the Dutch for no less than thirty years. This part of the island was probably the first visited by Hindoos and Arabs, and it is likely that the Achinese owe some of their characteristics and more particularly their fighting instinct to a strong admixture of foreign and especially Arab blood. They were, as has already been noted in the historical sketch, a people of much wealth and influence

BATTAK WOMAN

in the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I., and English ambassadors were sent to the court of the monarch of Achin who ruled over more than half of Sumatra. They are to-day not only restricted in territory but politically broken up, their system of government being communal, the districts gathered into three provinces and the whole under a sultan. For seven hundred years the people have been Mohammedans, and the mixture of Malay and Arab blood has made them excellent sailors and shipwrights, while as pirates they were the terror of the Malacca straits. We are so accustomed to think of piracy as part of an age long past, and relegate it to the realm of stories for boys, that it is strange to hear such a description as that given by a gentleman who, in his own yacht lying off Singapore a few years ago, saw a boat manned by Achinese overhaul and attack two fishermen, murder one and make off with the nets and fish! The military organisation of the Achinese is like that of the Cossacks: every man is born to be a soldier, and every village furnishes its complement of fighting men. This, added to the difficulties of the country, makes the Dutch task no easy one. They have established themselves on Achinese territory at Kota Raja, connected by three miles of railway with the coast, but although the town is well built it is most uncomfortable to Europeans, for it is impossible to venture outside without being reminded forcibly of the precariousness of the position. The windows of the railway carriages are of steel plates, sentinels keep watch everywhere on high towers, and the place is surrounded with trenches and bristling with guns.

Leaving the Achinese country and coming south, we

find, situated nearly half-way between the east and west coasts, the beautiful large inland lake Tobah, with an area of 500 square miles. This wonderful inland sea, surrounded by thickly wooded mountains of great height, is the centre of the Battak country, and regarded by this race as their home. Although believed by ethnologists to be of the same race as the Dyaks of Borneo, they seem to have acquired a greater degree of civilisation, which they probably owe to Hindoo influence. It is also considered likely that they mixed considerably with the Hindoos, a supposition which accounts for certain peculiarities not found in the Bornean Dyak. For instance, in colour they are said to be darker than the average Malay, while the Dyak is lighter, and they have more than one form of writing, while the Dyaks have none. The Sumatran race, moreover, constructs houses of comparatively elaborate architecture, ornamented with carving, and practise skilled agriculture, while the Borneans merely build huts high up in the trees from fear of attack, and subsist by sowing a little rice or sago, gathering jungle produce and shooting birds. It is possible also that the traditions of an earlier Caucasian civilisation linger among the Battaks, for it has been noted that the Caucasian wave, which peopled the Polynesian isles, took with it the arts already mentioned of building and carving houses, as witness the dwellings of the Maoris. The Battaks and Dyaks have two strong traits in common — head-hunting and cannibalism — and it is a curious fact that these two horrible customs seem to be invariable with Pacific races of Caucasian or pre-Malay stock, but are not characteristic of Mongols or Malays. The Battaks, like the Dyaks, are pagans, and seem almost impervious to conversion either to Chris-

tianity or Islam. The latter will probably, however, make its way slowly among them, as they are much intermixed on their frontiers with the Malays. They practise weaving, using the rudest form of loom, sometimes held in place by the feet as with the pagan tribes of Formosa, and they make jewellery and *krisses*, often of fine workmanship. The head-dress worn by the women of some of the tribes is almost their only peculiarity in that line, and is very strange. The handkerchief is folded to form a sort of poke-bonnet, having a wire or stick to raise it from the head, and is kept in place by two spiral coils of silver wire on either side of the head.

The Battaks are gradually coming under Dutch influence, and some of the tribes are civilised, but in the

IN A BATTAK VILLAGE

hill country are wild tribes of whom scarcely anything is known. To the east of these, facing Malacca, is the country of the Siaks, a Malay race who inhabit the low, swampy, unhealthy district on the coast. So

great is the amount of silt carried down to the sea by the short, swift rivers that the land is seriously encroaching upon the straits of Malacca.

South of the Battaks is the beautiful mountain district of Menangkabo, believed by many of the Malays to be the actual cradle of their race. This supposition, though plausible, is warmly contested by Crawfurd, one of the greatest authorities on everything connected with the Malays. He believes Menangkabo to have been originally a Javanese settlement, and educes the fact that the names of places, mountains, and so forth are frequently Javanese, and that an ancient monument was found with writing in the old Javanese character. The widespread Malay tradition, however, is worthy of attention, and it seems possible that the Javanese may have returned after centuries of development and then conquered and settled the country where their ancestors first took root. To the energetic Stamford Raffles, then Governor of the British settlement at Benkulen, much further south, we owe the first real account of this country, which he describes as cultivated like Java in terraces to the mountain tops, and comparing favourably with that island in point of beauty and fertility. The population is denser than in any other part of the island, the people being Mohammedans from time immemorial, and ruled by chiefs of districts and villages under a sultan, as is usual in all Malay countries. Their language is singularly pure and free from foreign words, and this peculiarity is preserved by them in the colonies which they have established on the coasts both of the Battak and Achin lands. A curious fact in the history of Menangkabo was the rise, in the year 1807, of a religious sect professing a reformed Mohammedanism, which was

first promulgated by three pilgrims who had just returned from Mecca. They were called *Padris* (an evident corruption of the Portuguese word), or *Rinchis* (from Korinchi, the district from which they came). They preached a strict doctrine which deprived its votaries of the use of opium, tobacco, and betel-nut — the three great joys and solaces of the Malay in every country — ordered that white clothes only should be worn by both sexes, and preserved a strict code of feminine morals — including the wearing of a veil — which must have been equally repugnant to the warm-blooded, easy-going Malays. The reformers were for a time so successful that they took to temporal as well as spiritual conquest, and became masters of a large part of the interior of Sumatra, being only subdued by the Dutch after a three years war. This puritanical sect had become very unpopular, and the neighbouring tribes were glad to enlist the aid of the Dutch against them, while their own followers soon relapsed from the strict rules to the more easy and agreeable religion to which they were accustomed.

On the west coast, parallel with Menangkabo, is Padang, the name applying both to the district, which includes a fertile plateau used for coffee cultivation, and the town, which is one of the most important in Sumatra. Merchants of many nations are found there, and the town is picturesquely situated, and has wide, shady roads leading to the plateau, and a railway line connecting it with the Dutch settlement and residence of the Governor at Fort de Kock. South of Menangkabo and Padang is the country of the Korinchi, a semi-civilised Malay people who possess an alphabet of their own, seemingly one of the oldest and purest of Malay alphabets.

The southern part of Sumatra bears signs of considerable Javanese immigration. The larger part of it is known as Palembang, a district occupying the centre and south, while on the east and west are respectively the countries of the Jambi, another Malay race of considerable purity, and Benkulen, on whose coast is situated the town of that name which was held by the English for 140 years as a trading station and finally exchanged for Malacca. The most southerly point of Sumatra is occupied by a people known as the Lampongs, who claim to be pure Malays, of Menangkabo descent, but seemingly much modified by Javanese immigration. They have also a distinct written character, and display other peculiarities. Crawfurd considers their language to contain a large proportion of an original tongue, neither Malay nor Javanese, and other travellers remark on a characteristic institution common in their villages — that of having a sort of club-house, or public room, where visitors are entertained and every one can meet to discuss topics of interest. This institution is, however, found among many primitive nations, and more particularly with the Papuans of New Guinea and other Pacific isles.

Palembang is the most picturesque and interesting of all Sumatran towns, and is besides the centre of a large and increasing trade. No one who has not visited one of these Malayan river towns can form any idea of their quaint and picturesque appearance. The wide, deep river is three quarters of a mile across at Palembang, and on either side for six miles the wooden houses with their curious pointed roofs are built on piles over the water. Every house has a fleet of little *praus* and canoes moored in front of it, and many are built on

NATIVES AND HOUSES: PALEMBANG, SUMATRA

rafts, and can be moved at will. The river population, living entirely in boats, is almost like that of Canton, and the whole face of the river is covered with craft making their way to and fro, including vessels of large size and draught, which move along in stately fashion like giants among a swarm of pigmies.

RIVER SCENE

This is one of the principal seats of Dutch influence. Others are Padang, already described; Benkulen, where thanks to the British the surrounding country is thoroughly dominated by the Europeans, but the town itself decadent and the trade inconsiderable; and Dilli, a settlement on the east coast facing Penang, from which there is cable communication. The island is nominally divided into two Governments, five Residencies, and one Assistant Residency, but as two of the Residents and the Assistant are located on the adjacent islands of Rhio, Banka, and Blitong, it will be seen that this huge island has little governmental control. Of these Achin (about the size of Ireland) is one only in name, while the

respective Governments of the east and west coasts are practically two small radii, with Padang and Dilli as their centres. At Benkulen and Dilli the government is carried on through the native chiefs, much as in Java. There is a resident at Lampong, who practically only represents the majesty of Holland, and another at Palembang, which is one of the best-controlled regions. But the interior of the country is either absolutely independent and unexplored or, as in the case of some of the nearer tribes, owns the suzerainty of Holland but permits no governmental interference, or, as in Achin, is in a state of revolt. The wildness and wide differences of the various tribes, who from time immemorial have been more or less independent of each other, added to the difficulties created by the great spine of mountainous country which runs from north to south of the island, have made the conquest of Sumatra extremely difficult, and it is not easy to see how it can ever be accomplished by the Dutch. Meanwhile the mineral wealth of the country is for the most part undeveloped, industries are merely local and consist of the manufacture of native weapons and cloth, and the only really paying crops are pepper, found on the west and south; coffee, grown in the Padang district but decreasing in quantity; and tobacco, a flourishing industry, only started of recent years in the Dilli district but proving a great success. Chinese labour has perforce been employed on the tobacco plantations, but Chinese merchants are not per-

MARKET WOMEN, BANJERMASSIN

mitted to invest in the industry and are generally discouraged.

Altogether the External Possessions of Holland in the East present a spectacle of stagnation and obstruction to progress which make them a striking contrast to such neighbouring countries as the Federated Malay States. Under the ægis of Britain the latter have been raised to a high pitch of prosperity by a liberal policy which encourages the introduction of capital and labour of every description. Of the colonial policy of the Dutch generally something must be said later on.

A ROAD IN THE JAVANESE HIGHLANDS

CHAPTER XII

JAVA

It is difficult in the scope of a necessarily brief chapter to convey a tenth part of the glowing pictures impressed on the mind by even a short sojourn in this fairest of islands. Japan has justly earned a world-wide celebrity for its dainty prettiness of landscape, natural features being enhanced by the art of man until it is impossible to say where Nature ends and art begins, and it is with Japan that Java is often compared; but to the writer's thinking there is something bolder, richer, and more primitive about the Dutch island. Japan is a country of delicate tones, despite the general idea to the contrary. Its little people are clad in soft greys, tender lavenders, and faded blues; only the children and the flowers are bright with kaleidoscopic colours. The soft

grey-green firs clothe the blue-grey hills, and the red *torii* make quite startling notes of colour in the neutral-tinted background. Japanese in their native art — not that produced for Chicago — cling to soft grey and black washes, with here and there a faint dash of lemon-yellow or vermilion; everywhere there is the same delicate refined taste in colour which comes of long centuries of artistic education. The Chinese are bolder in design and tone. If the grey and lavender dresses of the women and the dainty pink and white of cherry blossom make up a colour scheme typical of Japan (with always that tiny subtle touch of pale lemon-yellow to give distinction), then gold and blue are the colours for China — blues of every shade from the rich and splendid cobalt of a summer sky to the deep purple-blue of a pansy's petal, — and the scheme is completed with vivid touches of sealing-wax red, — the festal colour.

As a medium between these two comes the Malay, and of his natural taste we can only judge in countries like Java or the Peninsula, where he has been left to work out his own salvation to a great extent, for, unlike the two principal members of the Mongol family to which he belongs, he is very readily seduced from his own natural bent in both form and colour. In the Philippines, for instance, the modification of Spanish costume adopted by both women and men has resulted in an almost total lack of the colour sense; every one is clad in upper garments of cream or saffron and lower ones of muddy-coloured checks, while black muslin and silk are worn for church-going by the women, and the men are clad in shapeless suits of white linen or black cloth. But in Java the Malay is still a child of Nature, and as the strange new scenes in ancient towns, crowded mar-

kets, and quaint villages grow familiar, one begins to realise that wonderful harmony between the people and their surroundings which only comes of long centuries of residence and extreme conservatism as to garments. Fashion does not dictate colour or cut, and both have assimilated themselves to the country and climate, or rather are the outcome of these. The colour-scheme of Java is therefore as harmonious as that of Japan, but instead of delicacy and daintiness we have rich, deep tones — brown and orange with flashes of vivid emerald, deep notes of sober blue and touches of bright crimson — these are the keynotes. But to write them in pen and ink is an injustice. Words cannot convey the gamut of hues indicated by the uninteresting word "brown," nor the soul-sufficing harmony of a scene — say a village market under the soft green shade of some giant trees — when all these deep, warm tones mingle and blend and are broken with shafts of golden sunlight.

To carry the comparison still further. Japan fascinates with the quaintness of her outlines. Her loveliest scenery has always a touch of the fanciful and unexpected — it is never merely pretty-pretty. In China one gets Nature in her large moods, — mountains, huge rivers, wide plains, — but wherever man is in evidence he forces his presence upon us by something grotesque and *bizarre*. The firm belief of the Chinaman in the spirits of earth and water — dragons and other strange beasts they appear to him — seems to have stamped the country with a weird sense of possession, and there is a wild impressiveness about even the most peaceful landscape, as, for instance, when blood-red poppies dye the fields for miles and miles.

Java, on the contrary, is neither fanciful nor grotesque. The island, as has been said in hackneyed phrase, is a gar-

den, and the prevailing impression is that of a beneficent, bountiful Nature which spreads a shining sunny land, pours over it fairest fruits and flowers, and fills it with the grateful sound of running water. The whole country smiles. This impression is heightened by the evident signs of careful cultivation. No one who has not wandered in hopeless jungle or gazed for days over flat and useless swamps can realise the keen pleasure, amounting almost to personal triumph, which fills the heart at the sight of a country, naturally rich, made still more fertile by the industry of man, and yielding her treasures freely at his desire. Japan presents in some parts the same feature, but here the Javanese picture is on a larger scale. Steep mountains are utilised for crops of hill *padi*, while the slopes at their feet are cut and channelled and terraced until they resemble giant staircases, and each step is green with *padi* or reflects on its watery surface the purple mountain above or the fleecy white clouds. The foreground is picturesquely broken by the banks which separate the *padi*-fields and raise them to different levels to provide for drainage, and by groups of men, women, and children at work, the last-named attired in the brown garment of Nature, while their parents make spots of crimson and orange which are reflected wonderfully in the water at their feet. Often they are up to their knees in mud and water, transplanting the young plants or mending the banks. Sometimes the water has been run off a field and men are ploughing with a team of grey oxen — the plough a primitive blade of iron or even wood fastened to cross-bars of bamboo. Everywhere there is water — lying flat and blue on the *padi*-fields, trickling through little channels, splashing into the mountain stream from which it has been drawn higher up and made

to do so much work. Water, brown and noisy, hurtling in a stony channel and foaming round rocks as the mountain stream rushes on its way. Water in a thin silver trickle, gliding along a rough spout made of a hollow tree-trunk across a ravine and falling with a gleaming splash into the fields beyond.

Everywhere there is green. The tender canary yellow of the young *padi* as it thickens in the water is bordered by a patch of vivid emerald — the colour of the young

IN THE PADI-FIELDS

ear. The ripening crop varies from rich golden to a fine bronze green, and green palm-trees break the line with their graceful feathery arms.

Above all float the distant blue and purple hills, capped and shrouded with exquisite transparent clouds, floating, changing, thickening, lifting; sometimes so near, and then, as the point of view changes, fading into the sky and lost in the blue and white of that heavenly background.

In the early morning these landscapes of mountain, stream, woodland, and village assume a fairylike aspect.

The night's rain has saturated everything, and faint vapours hang still upon the horizon. The colours have a delicate transparency, the distance is luminous with opalescent lights. The whole smiling country seems set with jewels which gleam and glisten and have the brilliance without the hardness of precious stones. Through such a scene runs a long straight road, bordered either side with a grassy bank and flanked by trees. Along this the villagers are going to market, and their busy stream makes the road gay with flashes of crimson and orange-tawny. The exquisite colours worn by the peasantry in the Preanger provinces certainly give a charm which is lacking in East Java, where, owing to the presence of indigo, most of the garments are dyed blue. These blues remind one of French peasants, and have washed into lovely shades. But the ever-present brown, orange, red, green, and crimson with which the Preanger Javanese decks himself are more varied, and being of washing cotton, often home-made and dyed, have also become beautiful with use and tone with the landscape like exquisite tropical flowers.

To this land of light and colour the writer would fain transport his indulgent reader, and to see the Javanese at home take him for a drive through some twenty miles of the fairest province in Java.

The hour is the early one already described, when the sun hangs low and, shooting long, pale shafts of light across the scene, gilds the delicate *padi*-leaf, wakes the sheets of water into sparkling light, and pierces the dim green woods which surround the villages.

Along the main road we drive, past innumerable brown huts — veritable streets of these which form the outskirts of the town. Already the people are up and

out at work or play. The grass screens which cover the open fronts of the humblest huts have been raised, the bamboo screens put aside, and in the open space or out in front, with a rude awning perhaps, is arranged a little stall set out with a few poor delicacies, slabs of white rice and cocoanut cake, a few red peppers and a little fruit, perhaps only some packets of betel-nut in green leaf cases or round cakes of a brown substance. Nearly every house seems to boast such a stall, and at all the corners of the roads we find others. If ambitious they even sell drinks — a thick green or a bilious yellow mixture being equally popular — set forth in glasses in most inviting rows. The country-folk as they come to market must pass these stalls, and tired and hot must be glad to refresh themselves, but the enigma is how so many shops can find customers.

We are driving in an open victoria with four extremely small ponies fastened together by a good deal of rope. Our driver has a smart red cotton coat, a spotted handkerchief twisted round his head and tweaked into two jaunty ends behind, the whole surmounted by a shiny red-and-yellow soup-plate hat. He cracks his whip with skill and continuously, and urges his ponies to a spasmodic gallop by frequent cries of "Ir-r-r-re! ir-r-r-re! — Yok!" In this he is aided and abetted by another gentleman similarly attired who hangs on to a seat behind and on occasion springs off, dashes to the front and slashes vigorously at the horses, running often several hundred yards in this way. The groom apparently has no difficulty in keeping up with the galloping horses, for he drops behind and springs on to the step without any slackening of the pace.

All along the road we meet streams of people — it

seems alive with them. Most are carrying burdens. The men have long bamboos poised on their heads, or baskets at either end of a pole filled with roofing tiles, pottery, or perhaps only with fruit. Some are carrying large screens of bamboo — the sides for houses — others huge rolls of matting or heavy sacks. The women are equally laden, and their burdens are often obviously more than they should bear. Sacks of rice are fastened to the back by the scarf or *slendang*, and to carry them the women must bend nearly double. Quite young girls may be seen so laden, and tiny children are playing at burden-bearing with a few pineapples or a bundle of wood-shavings tied to their little brown backs with strips of cloth. Mothers trudge along with their babies slung on their hips, a bundle fastened behind and an umbrella in hand. All along the roadside little groups are resting; naked brown children play round them, sweating coolies pass by at a jog trot, bending at every step under heavy weights, while the muscles stand out on their lean shoulders and play down their bronze backs. The elder men are inclined to be thin and meagre, and the women grow old early with field-work and much motherhood, becoming wrinkled hags or at the best coarse and uncomely. But the young men are well-formed, well-covered, with erect head and free carriage; not tall as a rule but excellently proportioned with broad shoulders and slender hips. The young girls are often charming, with oval faces and big pathetic brown eyes under thin straight brows; their rather protruding lips, not yet exaggerated and marred by betel-chewing, have a pouting look which heightens their somewhat pleading expression. When, as is frequent, a smile breaks over the face, a gleam of white lights up the brown, and we

regret still further the habit which in later life makes a smile hideous by reason of reddened gums and blackened teeth.

Many of the natives greet us as we pass with raised hats, but some take no notice beyond a stare of curiosity. Nowhere do we meet with the abject cringing which, we were told, the Dutch have enforced as a sign of submission from their conquered vassals. In the Preanger villages the people sometimes kneel or crouch for a minute as one passes by, but these are tokens of respect they have from time immemorial been accustomed to show to their own chiefs. Nor is the custom more fulsome than the hand raised to forelock of the village gaffer at home, or the curtsey with which every well-brought-up child or woman used to greet her betters in rural England until very few years ago. A good deal more reverence is doubtless shown to the official Dutch than to obvious visitors like ourselves, but this is natural and not undesirable. Servants often kneel to receive orders from their masters, but these in all cases are Dutch officials. The hotel servants do *not* kneel to us — even for a *pourboire.*

We are driving through gleaming *padi*-fields on a straight road, when suddenly it turns, and we plunge into the shade of a plantation of bamboos and palms. This is a village, and it is neatly confined in a fence of plaited bamboo. The road runs through the middle of the village, and is edged on either side by fences in which are several openings, with gateways of wood or bamboo. Each of these is numbered, and it is evident that the whole village is under careful surveillance. The houses are often large and have verandahs in front. Occasionally some European furniture is to be seen, but

ON THE ROAD TO MARKET

as a rule a glimpse into the interior affords a view of a dark room, larger or smaller according to the condition of the owner, with a raised platform of bamboo at the back which is the sleeping place of the family. Perhaps, if a large house, there is a table, covered with utensils and food and an open space in front either occupied by women and children squatting on mats or filled up with

WOMAN WEAVING

a primitive stall. Perhaps a rough loom is fastened to one side, and a woman sits pushing her clumsy shuttle in and out of the strands, which are fastened to a bamboo rod and kept in place by her feet. On the opposite side of the village street a vision of orange cloths hanging out on lines apprises us that from the loom to the dyeing vat is not a far step. If the cloth is to be patterned it is dyed or bleached, and then the ground-work is waxed and the cloth redipped.

Little intimate domestic scenes greet us on every side as we drive through these brown villages, with their bamboo huts and brown thatched roofs. This is early morning, and the people are busy, brushing out their tidy compounds, arranging their simple stores of food, or washing their clothes. When we come back in the late afternoon, we shall see them resting after the day's toil. The workers have then come in from the fields, or back from market. The men squat on their haunches in circles and smoke in companionable silence. The women lie on their mats with their babies sprawling around them, or sit in groups discussing eagerly and with much laughter the village gossip. The girls and boys are splashing in the nearest stream. All wear an air of peace and cheerfulness.

We have lingered long enough on wayside scenes, but it is impossible to pass by the kaleidoscope of native life that unrolls its brilliant colours as we drive through the sunny roads and shady villages. We stop to change horses in the middle of a village where a large market is going on, and here a characteristic scene is presented. The booths are lightly roofed and have the appearance of being planted down in the middle of a wood, so thickly grow the trees among them. Brilliant coloured cottons are hung up for sale, fruit in glowing piles, here and there a shale of glistening fish, groups of cut and trimmed bamboos, pottery-ware — every article of native daily use or feast-day luxury. Around and behind the stalls are busy clusters of people in garments of every conceivable colour, all faded and washed until they blend and mingle, while under the shady roofs are deep patches of rich brown and blue. A great deal of talk is going on, the road is lined with cheerful squatting men and

women — every available space not covered by stalls or adults is filled with naked brown babies and innumerable fowls. Large wicker cages of the feathered bipeds are exposed for sale, but as a matter of fact no one seems to be doing very much buying. Little carts, like tiny Noah's-arks on wheels, stand in a row round the outskirts of the market, and shaggy ponies graze hard by. Many are the bullock carts, drawn by animals smaller and less clumsy than the ordinary buffalo, with pretty heads and large patient eyes. It is a scene at once lively and peaceful.

There are many other beautiful drives, and the writer would be only too happy to conduct his reader, but time presses, and we have yet to get a glimpse of an old Javanese town. We might visit Boro-Bodor, for instance, that vast temple crowning the summit of a hill and shaped like a terraced pyramid, with tier on tier of walls carved in bas-relief, and a perfect army of Buddhas scattered everywhere. Nothing stranger can be imagined by one who knows his India well, and whose memories of youth are inextricably interwoven with the scenes and shapes of that distant land, than to come suddenly, in the midst of this Malay country, — this land of short square figures, broad faces, and simple primitive lines, — face to face with another world in stone; a well-remembered world of lithe, slim, hook-nosed, fierce-moustachioed men, whose eyes flashed under snowy turbans, who carried broad *tulwars*, whose thin draperies clung round their *sveldt* figures, who rode on elephants, hunted tigers, and worshipped in the elaborate temples of Buddha. Here, in this land so far from their home, the ancient Hindoos have left an undying record of what manner of men they were — the counterpart of those to

be seen to-day on the eastern coast of India. They have carved for us their ships, with great pot-bellied sides, heavy timbering, and a mass of rigging. Again we see them sitting at ease, while dancing-girls delight them, the dancing figure itself a marvel of art in the movement conveyed by simple lines and scanty drapery. There are no less than 1504 bas-reliefs around the temple and 441 images of Buddha, many of gigantic size. Though the carvings are supposed to represent merely the life and apotheosis of Buddha, they are in reality a series of pictures from life, full of the personality of the long-dead and forgotten sculptors. Local tradition assigns the fourteenth century for the building of this temple, which is only one of many scattered throughout the Dutch East Indies.[1]

It is very remarkable that, despite the extremely high standard of artistic merit reached in the Hindoo remains in Java and elsewhere, and the fact that the Javanese acquired most of their civilisation from the same source, there is no sign that the Malay race assimilated this artistic instinct, or followed the footsteps of their first teachers in the paths of æsthetic development. The conquest of Buddhism by Islam naturally, no doubt, put a check on such a method of decoration as that employed by the Hindoos, since the religion of Islam prohibits the representation of the human figure in painting or carving. But when we remember the exquisitely artistic productions of the Arab in other lands it is really remarkable that he should have failed to instil some of his own principles of form and colour into the Malay. The fact is

[1] The Dutch usually give the eighth or ninth century as the era of the building, and Ferguson assumes 650–800 A.D., but the Javanese date (1344 A.D.) seems more probable.

BAS RELIEFS, BORO-BODOR

that the Mohammedan conquest was extremely slow, being by no means always an active process, but rather a gradual spreading of the doctrines of Islam, and there was, therefore, no actual Arab invasion.

To the English, during their brief term of occupation, belongs the distinction of discovering the carvings to which allusion has been made, as they had all been covered with earth, probably by the last worshippers of Buddha. It is to be regretted that more is not done for their protection by the Dutch Government. The same remark applies to most of the ancient temples scattered throughout the colonial empire, but more particularly at Boro-Bodor and Brambanan, the latter being a perfect congeries of small temples crowded with carvings and statues which are inadequately protected. Some idea of the extent of these ruined temples may be gained from the fact that one group alone at Brambanan consists of a large central temple surrounded by two hundred and forty smaller ones, all decorated with beautifully executed bas-reliefs, carved niches, and images.

If the glory of the temples is departed, an even greater decay reigns in the walled cities and palaces of the ancient monarchs of Java. The Dutch have encouraged these in maintaining a certain semblance of dignity and authority, having chosen to rule the people through their own chiefs, but the "brief authority" with which a latter-day Sultan is invested is but a shadow of his former autocratic sway, and deprived of the opportunities for enriching himself by plunder and of diverting himself by bullying his subjects, he has sunk into a very third-rate being, whose great desire is to emulate the bearing and costume of his European conquerors. At Djokjakarta (a terrible

Dutch corruption of the Sanscrit name "Ayuga-karta") dwells one of the two remaining tributary princes of Java, and the other at Soerakarta, the capital of the ancient empire of Mataram. Djokja was once a dependency of Mataram. The story of these two kingdoms is so full of intrigue, wars, rebellion, and usurpation that it is impossible to even outline it. It was the Sultan of Mataram who made the most strenuous opposition to the Dutch, and in the early days of the English occupation neither he nor his tributary at Djokja were by any means subdued. The energetic action of Stamford Raffles reduced both princes to submission, and they were inclined to welcome back the Dutch as the more lenient masters of the two. From 1825 to 1830, however, an internecine war raged between the two native States, and since then the influence of the Sultans has steadily declined. Despite the fact that the mass of the people from custom worship and obey their fallen princes, they have now no longer the power of life and death, and rule only as the intermediaries and representatives of the Dutch Government.

The Javanese city proper in which the Sultan dwells is called the *Kraton*, and is surrounded by walls and divided into numerous enclosures. The *Kraton* at Djokja is four miles in circumference, and is a busy world in itself, containing the palace, mosque, cages where the royal menagerie was kept, and numerous other buildings, streets, ponds, canals, *kampongs*, and gardens. It is peopled by some ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants, all more or less connected with the Court. The palace at Djokja has a dining-hall capable of accommodating six hundred guests, but there is an air of decay over the whole building, with its shabby pretence at European

grandeur. The two sad-looking elephants, now the sole occupants of the menageries, are typical of the whole Court, and the great *Aloon-Aloon*, a wide square with huge trees cut into stiff shapes which is the heart of the ancient city, is still and empty in the sunshine, whereas of old it was full of gaily dressed courtiers riding and driving to and fro, soldiers parading, and attend-

INSIDE THE KRATON, DJOKJA

ants exercising his Highness's animals. The Sultan drives abroad in a *mylord* or victoria drawn by Javanese ponies, and with servants in the native costume of *sarong* and short jacket, but with travestied European headgear, which gives a most farcical air to the whole turn-out. His followers, if they are headmen of villages and as such recognised by the Dutch, stalk about wearing, over the bright-coloured handkerchief with knotted ends which adorns their heads, crownless felt hats — strange inventions like felt coronets high in front, with

perhaps a gilt badge. The possession of such a hat imparts to the wearer a dignity only equalled by that of an individual who is in a position to sport the gilt buttons of official employment. Policemen, railway guards, and others in Dutch employ who are provided with European uniforms always wear the regulation cap or helmet over the inevitable coloured handkerchief with which their heads are turbaned. This fact, coupled with the

THE SULTAN'S COURTYARD, OR ALOON-ALOON

extreme gravity and dignity of their demeanour, makes them most laughable objects to the unaccustomed traveller. As may be imagined, with such a population the narrow streets of the *Kratons* are crowded with people and the market is a busy place. Everywhere one is struck with the extreme poverty of the people. Their houses are destitute of furniture except for a raised dais of bamboo and a few mats; their clothing is of home-dyed and spun cotton, generally clean, but scanty and often ragged; the

wares exposed for sale are wretched, merely vegetable products which they have gathered in the woods, with a little dried fish and a few lean fowls. But at the same time there is a general air of good humour and cheerfulness. Children play about naked in the dust and are fondled by their parents, every one is smiling, no one is particularly busy, and though emaciation is frequent in old age, the young people and children are well-nourished and comely.

What is the secret of this apparent lightness of heart under such straitened conditions? It has its roots deep in the character of the Malay race, and has been fostered by the conditions of life in this fairest of islands. The Javanese are pre-eminently happy and cheerful, regarding the greatest calamities with philosophy. Even sickness and death do not shake them. "If God wills it, what can we do?" runs their favourite phrase, and they take no thought for the morrow, being content if to-day the sun shines and they have a little food. The Dutch make them work, which is not to their taste, but they have been compelled to labour by their own princes from time immemorial, as witness the very high state of cultivation found in Java and Sumatra when first visited by Europeans. The system on which the Dutch arranged this forced labour will be described later. Enough here to say that it necessitated really hard work, but on the whole has resulted in a great improvement in the condition of the people. Some features of the oft-abused Dutch system are worthy of consideration. The Dutch restrict the use of opium as far as possible, and do not license gambling, though it is such a passion with all Malay races that its eradication would be impossible. The villages are scrupulously neat and tidy;

there are no paupers and no workhouses; there is no drunkenness, and such a thing as starvation is unknown.

Social life and morals display an amiable slackness and cheerful acquiescence in whatever comes along. Marriages are arranged by a go-between, the husband buying his bride, often of a very tender age, and polygamy is allowed, though the common people can seldom afford it. Divorce is cheap and easy, two and a half rupees being the price for a certificate of divorce, and incompatibility of temper is by no means the least of the reasons advanced. A servant questioned as to the absence of his wife answers: "She is gone," and on being further interrogated, says: "Oh, yes! I had to get rid of her, she ate too much — ate up all my money." No ill feeling exists between couples who have parted thus; the husband, divorced wife, and new wife are all on the best of terms, and will go to see each other, while the children are amicably arranged for, living either with the mother or with relations on either side. Women may re-marry as often as they please, but only once can they have a grand wedding or wear bridal clothes.

There is no observance of a weekly holiday (either religious or secular) on the part of the natives, but there are, of course, feast-days and festal seasons, in which their nominal religion is much intermixed with ancient customs. There are five celebrations of the New Year, all signalised by a certain amount of holiday-making, dressing-up, firing of crackers, and so forth. These are the Christian, Mohammedan, Chinese, Malay, and Javanese festivals, which occur on different days. The animals have a New Year's day of their own, in honour of which they are decorated with flowers, have their horns gilt, and are led in procession.

The writer was informed by a lady who had kept house for many years in Java that the natives are excellent servants; but those who have been accustomed to the perfect service and cooking of the Chinese "boy" are less enthusiastic, and from a cursory observation in hotels one is inclined to say that for carelessness and stupidity the Javanese are hard to beat. An excellent story comes from an Englishwoman in Batavia, who had instructed her servants to move a wardrobe from one room to another. Having carefully shown the spot where it was to stand she went away. Half an hour later her head boy sought her with a deeply puzzled expression. "Is the wardrobe to stand with its face or its back to the wall?" he inquired. His mistress looked at him with quiet hopelessness. "If you put it face to the wall, how can I open it?" she asked. "That's just what we've all been discussing!" he replied. Comment, as the newspapers say, was not only superfluous but useless.

The great failing of the Javanese is their untruthfulness, but they exhibit also in a marked degree two other Malay characteristics, laziness and lack of ambition. They are not quarrelsome, are little given to running *amok*, but are intensely improvident, squandering any money that comes to them with the most sublime disregard for the future. There is little crime among them, especially when the density of the population is taken into account, and on the whole they are very easy to rule. Music is a passion with them, and when the day's work and the afternoon siesta are over, from every quarter of the native villages rise the sounds of song, of stringed instruments and others curiously constructed from lengths of bamboo. Native bands travel about

accompanied by girls who dance, and the villagers cluster round, while to the monotonous rhythmic refrain the dancer twists her body, waves a narrow scarf, and performs wonderful turns with her wrists. The hands play a great part in these dances, being bent stiffly upwards while the fingers quiver constantly. The ordinary dancer is dressed in a curious garb of velvet and tinsel, but the performers at Court functions and theatrical representations wear elaborate head-dresses, suggesting nothing save old Egyptian carvings, and they frequently wear masks of weird shapes, with pointed noses, coloured differently according to the character represented. Thus gods wear gold masks, distinguished men white, giants and evil spirits red.

A JAVANESE COURT DANCER

The Dutch method of governing Java will be described in the next chapter, but it must be mentioned here that there is a sort of racial division between east and west; it is said that the Sundanese, who inhabit the west, are superior in character to other Javanese — all Javanese are liars, say the Dutch, but the Sundanese lie less than the others!

The climate is of course tropical, and the rainfall is peculiarly high, a feature of the rainy season being the extremely heavy thunderstorms. The rainfall decreases towards the east, being greatest at the end nearest Sumatra, while in that island it is exceptional. On the coast, especially during the wet season (from October to March), the climate is very trying from its heat and humidity, but within easy reach by rail are the exquisite

JAVANESE RIVER, BRIDGE, AND VILLAGE

health resorts among the mountains, where a delightful and bracing air can be enjoyed amidst perfect scenery. Many business people live at Buitenzorg, the most accessible of these from the coast, and go to their offices at Batavia every day. A curious feature of the rainy season is the absolute regularity with which the rain begins. During the writer's stay at Garoet it never varied for a day, but beginning at 2 o'clock continued steadily till 4.30 or 5, when the sun again shone.

With abundant rainfall and brilliant sun it is natural that vegetation should flourish, and Java is literally clothed with green. There is a great variety in the trees and plants, which are tropical near the coast, and change gradually until on the high mountains we find oaks and laurels, and still higher conifers, heaths, and other familiar trees and plants. The dweller in Batavia may gather in his garden the crimson hibiscus, with its long pendant tassel, or the great yellow, sweet-scented alamander. Going up to Buitenzorg — an hour's journey — he passes through groves of slender, dainty bamboos, and finds the garden of his country villa fragrant with roses. Taking train again, he reaches a high point on the railway, where the hotel is surrounded by ferns and the mountains are clothed with forests of fig-trees. Leaving this, he makes an excursion up the mountains, to the mouth of one of the craters, and on his way he may gather in their seasons violets, ranunculus, primroses, St. John's-wort, lily-of-the-valley, rhododendrons, foxgloves, honeysuckle, and many other dear familiar flowers, not all perhaps exactly similar to the English blossoms but of the same species. Higher still are found characteristic alpine flora. Such fruits as the raspberry and strawberry can, of course, be cultivated,

but Java is rich in typically Malay fruit, of which the king is perhaps the mangosteen. This is about the size of a mandarin orange, and has a green prickly outside, which when split open reveals an interior of richest crimson, in which is embedded a fruit of the purest white, of the consistency of clotted cream and the most delicious slightly sub-acid flavour. The durian is pronounced by natives and those foreigners who have got over its peculiar smell to be the most delicious of all tropical fruits, and the Chinese will give almost any price for it; but as its odour has been correctly described as like nothing in the world but a putrefying corpse, and as one durian will scent a whole village, it is not always popular with Europeans.

Delightful Java, with its gleaming *padi*-fields, distant volcanoes, trickling water, and busy, merry people! It is melancholy to think that this quiet backwater of the stream of civilisation should be doomed, and yet who can doubt that such is the case? The leisurely, conservative Dutch are the only members of the Anglo-Saxon family who could have preserved this state of affairs, but will they not be swept forward by the irresistible tide of modern restlessness and absorbed in the onward march of the civilised world? They lie like a great dam across the rushing stream of progress, but already one of their outposts, *i.e.* South Africa, has been washed away, and with the rise of Australasia, the advent of the United States in the Far East, and the growth of German influence who can foresee the end?

There will no doubt be improvements, and many are needed; but it is impossible to see the Javanese at home and not realise the truth of the old adage: "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

A MALAY RIVER SCENE

CHAPTER XIII

THE COLONIAL DUTCH AND THEIR METHODS

It has been said already that, although the Indian empire of Holland contains many islands and parts of islands, three at least being of greater extent than Java, it is that island alone which must be taken to represent Dutch colonial empire, since all the others are more or less independent. In Java the whole country is portioned out, ruled, and legislated for with the utmost care, and the system adopted is worthy of close attention. The island of Madura is included with Java in the internal possessions, and in writing of the colonial Dutch and their methods it must be understood that the condition of affairs described is confined to these islands. An attempt has already been made to show what is being done, and left undone, in the external possessions.

Java is divided into three parts — east, west, and central — which are subdivided into provinces, there being twenty-two in all, including Madura. These provinces, presided over by Residents, are split up into districts

known as "regencies," in each of which is a native prince or regent, chosen by the Dutch from the aristocracy of the district, who is supervised in the performance of his duties by an Assistant Resident. There is another rank of Dutch officials called *contrôleurs*, who are under the Assistant Resident, and must report to him, and the communes or *dessas* are each under a headman, who is responsible to the Dutch officials for the taxes and peace and order of his village. The administration of justice is entirely carried on by the Dutch. The regents exercise the functions of district chiefs of police, the Assistant Resident deals with petty delinquencies and acts as a committee magistrate, and the districts are visited in turn by judges appointed from Holland. All Europeans, or persons allied to them, are tried before Dutch courts.

Over all officials is the Governor-General, practically a Viceroy, whose palace is at Buitenzorg, and who is aided by a council of five officials nominated by himself. One of the judges with a very wide district told the writer that crime is rare, the majority of the cases coming before him being of a minor description, and this although the treatment of criminals is very lenient.

A noticeable feature in Javanese villages is that the houses of the Dutch officials are often right in the midst of those of the natives. The Dutch permit similar freedom of intercourse, and despite the prevalent idea that they treat their vassals hardly it is evident to any one who knows the Indian Empire that the gulf between British and Hindoo is far wider than that between Dutch and Malay. This is no doubt partly due to the lack of caste distinctions in Netherlands India. In India, as has been well said, the British form a caste by them-

selves and that the ruling one, but the attitude of the Dutch towards Eurasians, the mode of life adopted by them, and the fact that their women frequently wear the native dress, are all signs of a bond between conquerors and conquered. Such things would be absolutely impossible in India. Living literally with the people, the minor Dutch officials acquire a minute personal knowledge of the circumstances of each family; and the well-kept villages and low rate of crime are probably largely due to this close supervision. The personal element makes all the difference to the Malay, and the writer ventures to think that an attempt to rule him on the official red-tape, cast-iron system would have been far less beneficial in its results. Unfortunately Holland has not moved with the times, has attempted to close her possessions to the outer world, and has adopted a cheeseparing policy in the remuneration of her minor officials, who are often so poorly paid that they must be of superior calibre to resist the temptation of making a squeeze out of the natives.

The Dutch colonial Civil Service presents many contrasts with the British, of which we are justly so proud, and it is to the mistakes in its organisation that many obvious defects are due, while at the same time it has a permanent character to which must be attributed much of Holland's success in dealing with Java, and her good fortune in acquiring and retaining other islands. Civil Service in the Dutch East Indies is for life; promotion is slow, salaries are small, and furloughs few and far between, but the official is not superannuated in the prime of life, and almost invariably on retiring (when he receives a pension) he settles in Java, on one of the high, beautiful, healthy spots to be found in that favoured

island. The result of this system is that men who come out to the East soon lose touch with Holland. They cease to think of it as home, to long for their return with the sick longing which the British official in India knows so well. There is none of that pathetic effort to create an atmosphere of Europe in the East, none of that striving to retain the manners, dress, and style of home, or to keep abreast of affairs in the old country. On the contrary the Dutch have evolved a method of living which is a close compromise between European and Malay. They become absorbed in colonial affairs, invest their money, if they have any, in land or plantations, get to know intimately the people of their district where they have every prospect of remaining an indefinite number of years, and generally settle down to be happy in what they regard as their future home. They can marry and bring up their families without that heart-rending separation which casts a gloom over Anglo-Indian society, and altogether there are many consolations for them in their voluntary exile.

The Civil Service appointments, by competitive examination, were at first made entirely from Holland, but for a while the experiment was tried of holding the qualifying examinations also in Java. The large proportion of Eurasians who thus obtained admission to the official ranks, however, determined the return to the former system, but there is nothing to prevent Eurasians from competing in Holland, and there are colleges in Java where they can prepare. The study of languages is much insisted on; besides the native tongue, Javanese, English, German, and French are obligatory, while Italian and Spanish are sometimes added. The aver-

age Dutch official speaks English and German perfectly, and French fluently with a German accent. At all hotels in the larger towns there are English, German, and French speaking interpreters or managers, so that the casual visitor does not have to vex his soul with the eccentric Dutch language. *Pidgin* English and German are most useful in the shops, which are usually served by Chinese or cosmopolitan Germans, and in Sourabaya the homesick traveller from the Land-o'-cakes can soothe his ear, in a large and well-stocked emporium, with accents familiar beyond the Tweed. Half a dozen words of Malay, including an objurgation and the expression "Hurry up!" are sufficient for hotel servants and drivers. The traveller is warned that it is never safe in Java to indulge in personal remarks about the company present, under the impression that he himself speaks in an unknown tongue, unless he does so in Greek or perhaps the language spoken in Scottish novels of the Kailyard school.

The permanence of Dutch residence is shown in the way they build their houses, which are usually of stone, with marble floors in wealthy houses, and in the clubs and public buildings marble pillars also. These handsome and solid buildings stand in gardens, divided only by a low flowering hedge from the broad smooth roads. The fronts are open verandahs, and the central room, which is usually the sitting- or dining-room, is also frequently visible from the road. Furniture is plain and scarce, consisting usually of a round table, a circle of rocking-chairs on the verandah, a dining-table and sideboard, with some severe straight-backed chairs in the inner room. Large plants stand about and break the bareness of the rooms, and the front garden, if typi-

cally Dutch East Indian, contains row upon row of small whitewashed pedestals supporting whitewashed pots, in which gay-coloured flowers are blooming. One of these gardens at night strongly resembles a graveyard studded with white tombs, but the Dutch love of whitewash is ineradicable, and despite the reputation the *vrouw* has acquired for cleanliness in her European home it is to be feared that, under the enervating influence of Oriental life, she is inclined to let a coat of whitewash do duty for innumerable scrubbings.

The day begins early with a cup of delicious coffee, roll and butter. In hotels the visitor can make a more substantial breakfast by partaking of potted meats, slices of half-raw ham, cold *soft-boiled* eggs, gingerbread, and other viands, which are rendered less tempting by the fact that they are frequently placed on the table over night and protected with wire cages from the hosts of flies. The Dutch lady appears at this meal in the native costume of *sarong*, either of checked silk or cotton, and white cambric *kibaya*. The latter was well described by an Englishman as a "hair-brushing jacket"; the former is a skirt without a runner at the waist, which is merely kept in place by a tucked-in fold in front. The best that can be said for it is that no European can wear it gracefully. On the native woman, whose figure is boldly outlined, just as her cotton jacket often leaves her brown bosom picturesquely bare without outraging any sense of propriety, it is as beautiful and appropriate as the graceful *kimono* of Japan, though hardly as expressive of modesty. But on the European lady, whose bare pink feet and ankles peep out from beneath the skirt in heelless gold-embroidered slippers, it begets in the unaccustomed male mind an inclination

DECORATING SARONGS

to retire incontinently. This costume, with the addition of a parasol, is considered quite correct for morning walks and shopping, but is only worn by married ladies. Girls are attired in cotton dressing-gowns, loose and full, and this is the favourite travelling-dress for all ladies. The Dutch gentleman is equally *negligé* in his costume. After bathing he puts on a clean suit of pyjamas and loose slippers — and so attired wanders round the hotel grounds or the gardens of his house until it is time to dress (always in white ducks) and go to office. Anything more immaculate when he is dressed it is difficult to imagine, for he is in snowy white from head to heel, and even in smoking innumerable cigars he manages somehow to retain this spotless appearance. At one o'clock is the great meal of the day, "*rijs-tafel*" — literally rice-table. As the name implies, this meal has a foundation of rice, and with it are eaten a vast number of dishes, some of them curries, others fowls and game-birds, salad, eggs in various forms, dried fish, pickles, vegetables, meat, and in fact almost every kind of food. These are taken *ad libitum*, piled on top of the rice, the mixture well-stirred, and eaten with a spoon. At first one is rather pleased by this dish, or collection of dishes, but it soon grows monotonous, and as various dishes are frequently cold before one gets them owing to the custom of never heating the plates, there is a *fade*, insipid air about *rijs-tafel* which makes one long for one well-cooked dish, hot plates, and juicy vegetables. The rice-table is usually followed by tough steak served with salad and potatoes, and coffee and dessert end the meal, which is a distinctly heavy one for the middle of a hot day.

After this meal the whole population retires to rest,

and between the hours of two to five everything is at a standstill. The colonial Dutch take their afternoon siesta very seriously; retiring to their bedrooms and closing windows and doors, it is to be supposed that they sleep the sleep of the just, while their Malay attendants slumber soundly in their own quarters. Nothing but an earthquake disturbs these slumbers, and not always that! At five they rise, bathe, and dress, but report says that many of the ladies are too lazy to get into tight European dress and therefore forego the afternoon drive. The gentlemen go to the *Harmonie* or club, where they read the papers and if intensely energetic play billiards. The calling hour is from seven to eight, according to the time for late dinner, and it is not *de rigueur* to leave before the hour strikes. Gentlemen must call in evening dress.

Outdoor sports and exercises are little indulged in, so far as the writer was able to judge, but this is a sore point with the Colonial Dutch, and many of them assured the writer that they played cricket and football. It must therefore be supposed that they indulge in these pastimes in strict privacy. British residents in Batavia have a tennis and cricket club, and are fond of riding, but they complain that the Dutch will not join in these sports. The exercise which they love, and at which they excel, is dancing, and dancing-parties are frequent, while the elder generation who have lost their taste for it (or become too stout) are very devoted to cards. The late dinner, at eight to nine o'clock, is rather a sketchy affair. The Dutchman prepares for it by drinking innumerable "pahits," which consist of tiny glasses of gin and aniseed, while he and his family sit round the table on the verandah at this sociable hour and the ladies ruin their digestions with eating sweets. On certain evenings there is music in the gar-

dens of the club, provided by the local or military band. The Batavian band is the finest in the East, and as one sits in the garden under graceful trees, the stars beginning to peep out of a darkening sky, the electric globes twinkling and waiters hurrying to and fro with coffee or lemonade, one might almost imagine oneself at Earl's-Court — were it not for the excellence of the music.

Batavia itself is perhaps the finest and most beautiful town in the Far East. Singapore is justly admired for its handsome buildings, beautiful sea-frontage and pretty roads, but Batavia surpasses it in all these. The harbour is exceptionally fine and the quay is of immense length and well built. The residential quarter is distant about half an hour's ride by rail, the low-lying coast having been abandoned in favour of a more healthy spot. The impressions carried away of Batavia are pleasant ones — memories of broad shady roads arched by trees, of suburbs composed of pretty villas in gay flower-gardens, of wide, open spaces dominated by handsome public buildings, and of the picturesque native market and inevitable rows of Chinese shops.

Sourabaya, the second town in Java, is a busy commercial place, its harbour crowded with all sorts of craft, its streets bustling with traffic, through which the steam tram glides with a jangling of bells. It lies low, and is hot and mosquito-infected, nevertheless its European inhabitants have a cheerful healthy air, for within easy reach by rail and carriage is the famous health resort of Tosari, in the Javanese Switzerland. This little place is perched on the summit of a mountain 5800 feet above the level of the sea, and from it one has a grand panoramic view of volcanic peaks which tower above and around on every side. The air is keen and bracing,

and the country, despite its elevation and the steepness of the mountains, is highly cultivated and populous. The jaded Singaporean must envy the Dutch in Java these delightful health resorts, where roses come back to white cheeks and the sparkle to tired eyes. It is a matter for wonder at first sight that the mountains of Java should not become a sanatorium for the Far East as Switzerland is for Western Europe, but there are several difficulties in the way, though these have been much exaggerated.

The writer was told in Singapore (whence very few people have made the journey) that travelling in Java was exceedingly uncomfortable, that the hotels were bad, and that there was much red tape and annoyance about passports for all who are not Dutch, and such seems to be the impression throughout the East.

As to the first two charges, it can only be said that the train service leaves something to be desired, and the rolling stock is not of the latest pattern, but the second- and first-class carriages are quite equal to those of the average Continental trains, and the scenery through which the line passes is so beautiful as to render the journey agreeable to all who really care for Nature. The hotels have already been described, but even in country places they are clean and comfortable. The food is indigestible to a foreigner, but that is doubtless a fault in his education. If he began at a tender age to eat pickled onions and rice alternately (as do the Dutch children one meets at *table d'hôte*) he would, no doubt, be able to thrive, later on, on *rijs-tafel*. The regulations as to travellers' passports are strict, and a special permit must be obtained to visit the interior, while every passport goes to Buitenzorg to be signed by the Governor-

General or his secretary. An amusing instance of this attention to detail was afforded the writer, who, having placed himself in the hands of his consul, did not trouble further about his passport, and went up to Buitenzorg directly. Some delay occurred in forwarding the papers, and on the third day of his stay a polite gentleman with whom he had conversed at *table d'hôte* remarked gently that he "thought Mr. Colquhoun had forgotten the necessary formalities," as his papers had not yet been *visé*. He was in the Governor-General's office, and noticing the arrival of a stranger had kept a look-out for his papers. There is really, however, no more trouble connected with this than with the necessary passport in Russia, which, once obtained, is merely given to the hotel proprietor on arriving at a place and returned by him properly *visé* when one leaves. The great thing is to apply immediately, with full details of what one proposes to do, to one's consul at Batavia or Sourabaya, wherever one lands.

There is no doubt, however, that the Dutch, albeit the soul of politeness to the stranger within their gates, are not desirous of attracting tourists or travellers to Java. The steamer fares from Singapore are exorbitant, railway fares are high, and there is no attempt to popularise the country. Inter-island travel is even more costly. If hotel books are a criterion, the majority of the foreign visitors are Germans, then French, and a sprinkling of English and Americans. The Government also puts difficulties in the way of aliens wishing to settle. A Dane, who had bought a small property on the island, told the writer that he was frightened by the registration, official interference (which amounted to taking an inventory of his possessions), and the prospect

of taxation, and accordingly sold out and fled. He has now settled in Singapore, where he can certainly enjoy full liberty and freedom from espionage. The Customs regulations also seem to aim at excluding the foreigner, and indeed there is a good deal of truth in the statement that Java is kept tightly closed.

One of the great grievances of aliens who settle in Java is the compulsory military service. Every Euro-

TYPICAL VILLAGE AND PADI-FIELDS

pean is bound to serve in a sort of militia six days a month between the ages of sixteen and forty-five. The drilling is on the Prussian system, and only a medical certificate exempts from service, the punishment for default being a fine of five guilders (ten shillings) for

a first offence, ten for a second, and court-martial with a possible imprisonment of fourteen days for the third. This citizen-army is absolutely cosmopolitan, and a more extraordinary sight than a squad presents it would be difficult to find. The Dutch Colonial army, about 30,000 in number, is, like the Civil Service, very different from the British. There is no system of drafting troops from Europe to serve in the East Indies; enlistment in the Colonial army is quite distinct from the home service, and is for seven years. There is no very stringent qualification required and men of all classes and nations join the ranks, which are frequently a refuge for the outcasts of other armies. At the end of the first term a bounty of £50–£60 is given, and the majority of the men re-enlist for a further seven years, sometimes for a third. As a rule they end by buying a small piece of land in Java and settling down, this consummation being largely assisted by the fact that almost all have Javanese wives and families. This army is one of the most cosmopolitan in the world — Greeks, Hebrews, Galicians, Turks, and dwellers in Mesopotamia — all are invested with the somewhat dingy blue uniform, and may be seen drilling, rather limply, or slouching about off duty with bare feet, and belt hanging down. The Achin war, which has been dragging out a weary length for so long, has been prosecuted by troops like these, and when all things are considered the duration of the campaign does not seem remarkable.

An interesting parallel is sometimes drawn between the wars in Achin and South Africa, and superficially there are some points of resemblance. The small but warlike nation defying an European Power and refusing to be assimilated into her Colonial empire, the diffi-

cult country, the impossibility of coming to close quarters with the slippery enemy, and the sniping which goes on continually are all features in common; but the comparison breaks down when we remember that we are putting forth our whole strength to defeat the Boers, and that our country, rich as she is, is feeling the strain of taxation to meet the enormous expenses involved. Holland uses none but her Colonial troops, the money comes, not out of the pockets of ratepayers at home, but from the profits on the Government estate in Java; the whole affair is a Colonial one, and as such does not exercise the minds of people at home, who regard it with stoical indifference and remember that it took forty years to thoroughly subdue Java. The conflict has long passed out of the attacking stage, and the present tactics are merely to blockade the coasts and as far as possible the hill fastnesses, in the hope of starving the Achinese into surrendering. It is currently said in the Dutch East Indies that official corruption has played its part in prolonging the war, since a number of people make a living out of the necessary contracts and after so many years would miss their source of income were it removed. The writer is not prepared to vouch for this, and mentions it merely as the view of a section of the people. As to the rectitude of Dutch officials he is also unwilling to express a decided opinion. Most English merchants in Java declare that the Dutch are open, honourable, and upright in all their dealings, while on the other hand one hears stories of official bribes. It has been said already that minor officials and even more important posts are ill-paid, and it must be remembered that long contact with Orientals is apt to sap the principles especially when touch with Europe

is not maintained, but it may be added that in Netherlands India there is at all events the tradition of an upright officialdom, and bribery and corruption are not recognised openly to be part of the system, as is usual in all Oriental countries, or tacitly permitted as in Russia.

Reference has been already made to the culture system. Briefly this is a method of *heerendiensten* or *corvée* by which the Government compelled the Javanese to cultivate the country, not directly for their own benefit, but as serfs labouring for the good of a feudal lord, incidentally improving their own condition. Coffee, sugar, indigo, pepper, tea, and tobacco were cultivated, each Javanese being bound to labour for a certain number of days each month without payment, while the Government either paid them for the rest of their work, or bought what they had grown privately at a fixed price. The work was carried out through the native chiefs or headmen. The people were taught the arts of scientific agriculture, were organised because of the necessity for numbering and arranging them to compute their work, and were forced to rouse themselves from the sloth natural to them. It was the wholesome but unpleasant discipline necessary for children, and the question arises whether Europeans are justified in treating an entire people on these lines. It may be mentioned here that the Javanese, who submitted to this system, absolutely refused to pay a land-tax, when that was imposed by Stamford Raffles. He had heard of the system in force in India known as Ryotwarri, which briefly meant the division of the country among the natives in small holdings, and the direct tax on those holdings. This has led to complications and difficulties in connection

with the *chittis* or moneylenders, who have become all-powerful and eat up the peasantry. Stamford Raffles did not see any of its results, but thought it a good and merciful way of collecting revenue. The land to belong to the people on condition of paying a small tax to Government — it appeared simple and advantageous, but the Malay has a deeply rooted dislike to any such form of taxation, which seems to him to deprive him of his freehold rights in the land. This question is particularly interesting because of proposed methods of taxation by the United States in the Philippines, and has been referred to already in that section of this book. It may be added that the system broke down almost at once in Java, even before its originator was recalled.

While the native was certainly raised by the discipline enforced, it must be added that the Dutch have never regarded it as desirable that the Javanese should be given an European education, or raised to a position of equal culture and enlightenment with themselves. Missionary efforts have been discouraged and, although native schools are now established in most villages, there has been a distinct tendency to keep education on the most primitive lines. Such a project as that of the United States in immediately providing European teachers and schools for all the Filipinos would seem revolutionary in the quiet East Indies and, although in Celebes there is a whole district Christianised, in the perfectly known and organised Java practically no attempt is made to interfere with the religion of the natives. In the first place, however, the Minahasans were pagans, while the Javanese are nominally at all events Mohammedans and in every village some have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. It is well known that the conversion of Mohammedans

is a difficult task, and the Dutch Government have seen no reason to interfere with a religion which inculcates many doctrines calculated to make good citizens.

Such, briefly, has been the policy of Holland in her vast Indian Empire, and before sketching some of the more recent reforms it may be well to note what has hitherto been the result of their methods. In the first place the native has been utterly left to himself in the

A BAS-RELIEF FROM BORO-BODOR

outlying possessions, and has probably picked up some of the vices of the West without any compensating advantages. In any case the islands are in a state of stagnation both as regards trade and progress. In one or two places, such as Minahasa, the condition of affairs is better, but the point at which the people arrived was reached some little time ago. In Java we find a people happy and industrious, but ignorant and lacking in moral sense — children in fact, though their education

has been going on for nearly a century. The estate has hitherto been enormously profitable to the mother-country, although administration has been and is very costly. The surplus, however, which used to go home to enrich the Dutch treasury, has for years past been swallowed up by expenses of government and the Achin war. The total of the import trade in 1898 was nearly fifteen millions sterling, while the exports amounted to eighteen, giving a grand total of thirty-three millions. Of this the major part goes to Holland, and it will be noticed that the exports exceed the imports by the amount of three millions. Java takes nine and a half millions of the imports and over twelve of exports, and Sumatra with the Rhio islands, which are in close proximity to Singapore, absorbs three millions of the first and three and a half millions of the second, so that the rest of the Dutch possessions have only a little over two million imports and two and a half million exports between them.

Compare these figures with those of Indian trade with the United Kingdom alone, which amounted in 1899 to fifty-nine and a half millions, and yet had decreased four millions since 1881; or the Australasian trade with the mother country, which reaches some fifty-eight millions. It is a well-known fact that Britain administers her possessions without any direct profit and at a large expense to herself, trusting to receive back her own through the general expansion of trade and opening of markets to her people.

This is the British method in contradistinction to the Dutch, which aims at getting a profit out of the country directly, and at all events at making it self-supporting. The figures quoted must speak for themselves as to the wisdom of the rival methods, especially when

it is remembered that the Dutch East Indies have practically ceased to send home a surplus, everything being absorbed by the expenses of administration and the Achin war. Indeed the expenditure in Netherlands India now slightly exceeds the revenue, which amounts to about twelve millions.

There are signs that Holland is awaking to the faults in her system. As far back as 1870 a Bill was passed confining the culture system merely to the coffee plantations, and since then it has been gradually reduced until at present it is only partially in force. Any further reduction seems hardly to be anticipated at present, since the private coffee-plantations, under the stress of competition from outside, are not remunerative and in places are abandoned. For the maintenance of roads *corvée* is still in use, though diminishing in extent. Unfortunately the custom has become so strong that it is easy for the minor officials, especially natives, to compel a certain amount of forced labour for their own private benefit. An important and beneficial measure, very slow in coming, has been the extension of the railway system, which now connects most parts of Java, — the external possessions being without railways except a few local lines in Sumatra, — and changes are being made in the administration which will, it is hoped, not only reduce expenses but add to its effectiveness by partially decentralising the government. Hitherto the "one-man show" has been the universal method, and it remains to be seen if sufficient public spirit can be stirred up to introduce a certain amount of municipal legislation.

Other signs of the times are a more liberal attitude towards foreign planters and the consequent extension

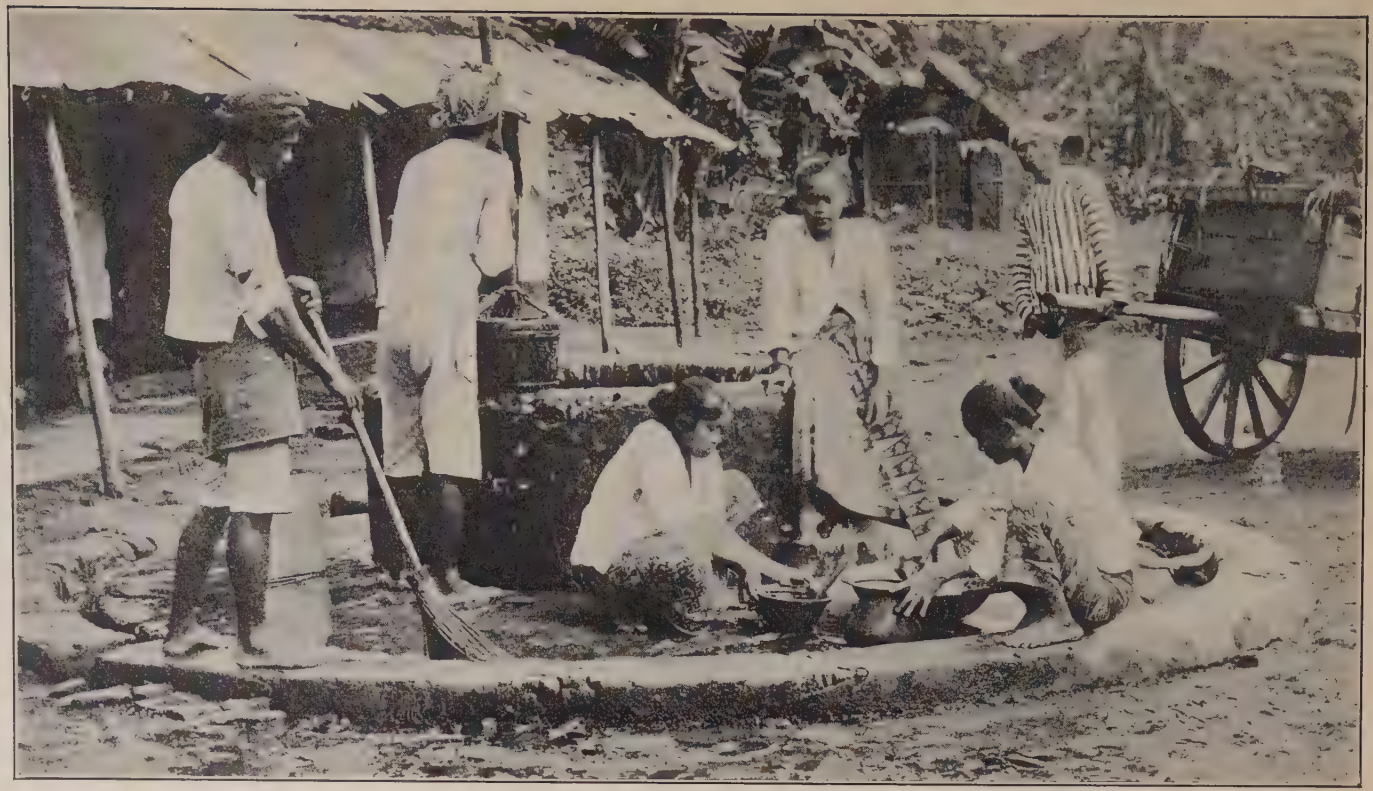
of cultivation, particularly of sugar. Reforms are needed as regards harbour accommodation and many other local matters of great importance to merchants and planters who, until recently regarded in a somewhat hostile fashion by the local officials, found it difficult to get a hearing. The regulation of the Chinese, who despite all precautions have established themselves in large numbers in all the important towns, has also exercised Government, and the taking over of the hide and opium farms is a measure which will probably be decidedly beneficial. The principle of the Government throughout has been to keep the Chinese out of the *dessas* or villages as far as possible. The regulations for this purpose have been of late much more strict and with the result, of course, of inconveniencing the foreign trade, the Chinese element here as elsewhere being the main connecting link between importer and consumer. Both farms gave the Chinese not the right but the power of interference in village matters, a power which there can be little doubt was considerably abused. While it was easy to discontinue the hide farm, the withdrawal of the opium farm involved a large revenue and roused the powerful opposition of the Chinese. A *regie* somewhat similar to that employed in Saigon has been introduced and is to be extended.

These are not very large matters, but they point to an awakening. The Netherlands Indies have been almost asleep for ages, a ring fence being put round them and a strictly conservative policy adopted. Whether that policy was best for the native must be decided by each reader for himself. The writer is of the opinion that up to a certain point it was. Whether it was good for the Dutch themselves is a different matter, but it must be

remembered that the sturdy race who hailed from the little sea-locked country, though far from being among the decaying nations, reached their high-water mark of national life some centuries ago, and being eminently sane and healthy have not endeavoured to struggle against Fate, but have philosophically accepted the situation and tried simply to hold stolidly their position in the comity of nations. Thus when South Africa practically lay at their feet they recognised that they were not able to rise to further expansion, and the writer believes that the ambitious policy of the so-called Dutch republics in South Africa was largely due to the infusion of foreign — particularly French — blood. The Dutch are cautious, canny, commercial, but not ambitious.

There are two dangers, internal and external, threatening this backwater in the river of time. The first has been already alluded to in the remarks about Eurasians. The preponderance of a coloured or half-coloured class in Netherlands India is becoming very marked, and it cannot be denied that the tendency of European races is to degenerate under similiar circumstances. We know what happened in East Africa and other Portuguese possessions, and it is only because of the superior virility of the Dutch that they have better resisted the process of degeneration. We have seen how even the European Dutch, man or woman, becomes what we call "a little slack" in manners and appearance after residence in the East, and it is to be feared that intellectual deterioration also follows. Even children whose parents are both white are frequently brought up entirely by Malay servants, play with their nurse's children and generally become half native in their ideas and consequently their morals.

Up to the present time Holland has been singularly successful in preserving her Colonial empire from outside influences, but with the recent developments in the Pacific a change must inevitably come. The position of Netherlands India between two go-ahead and flourishing democracies — Australia and the United States in the Philippines — will make it difficult to preserve the isolation and monopoly hitherto maintained by the Dutch, and the revolutionary methods adopted by the United States cannot be without great influence on all the other islands of the Malay Archipelago. To educate eight million Malays in the English tongue is in itself a step fraught with the most far-reaching consequences, and it seems impossible that the Javanese, Celebeans, Borneans, and the many semi-independent tribes of other islands should not be swept up by the wave of civilisation which, for good or evil, has at length caught a great part of their race on its crest and is bearing them on towards an unknown future. The development of the Malay States is another comparatively recent feature which will by degrees exercise an influence over other Malayan countries, and indeed on all sides we see the opening up of countries, the emancipation and civilisation of the brown races, and an increasing influx of Europeans. Is Netherlands India to be exempt — to lie like a log in the middle of the great Pacific trade routes and not be absorbed into the busy, bustling, wide-awake whole? The Colonial Dutch are rapidly becoming more and more alienated from their native land, and a population is springing up which is as little "Dutch" as the Spanish mestizos of the Philippines are Spaniards, and these cannot be said to see eye to eye with their rulers. Nevertheless Dutch phlegm, combined with an indolence born of the tropi-



THE VILLAGE WELL

cal climate, would prevent any very strong Colonial spirit from growing up unless pressure occurs from outside. Such pressure is likely to occur in the immediate future. Not only will Britain, the United States, Japan, and Australasia enter into the keenest competition in the new fields of enterprise in the Pacific, and so cut away the ground under Holland's feet and render her slack tenure of many islands precarious, but the ambitions of France and Germany will further complicate the situation. If the prosperity of the Javanese planter were to decline who knows that he might not prefer to be under the flag of an enterprising Power rather than one whose creed is "As it was and ever shall be!" That Germany casts longing eyes in the direction of the East Indies has long been an open secret, and that she intends, sooner or later, to swallow up her little neighbour in Europe every one knows, but the Hollanders will take a good deal of swallowing, despite the German alliance of their Queen and other circumstances. The Colonies are another thing, and we may yet live to see a Greater Germany in the Pacific.

JAPAN IN THE PACIFIC

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW JAPAN

The Pacific Ocean is the arena for many young Powers — the young Australasia, the young America, the new Russia in the Far East, and not least the new Japan. Again and again in our sketches of the territories on the Pacific littoral and islands we have had to remark their recent and rapid growth, the springing up of towns, and other changes effected in the space of a few years. The Philippines under American rule will probably exhibit similar phenomena in the way of educational and social development. The Dutch East Indies alone have been hardly touched as yet by this new spirit, but already a faint troubling of the waters is seen. Of all the changes and developments, however, nothing is more sensational than that of Japan, and in the future of the Pacific the new Japan will certainly play a prominent part.

The writer has no intention of dwelling on the subject of Japan's evolution, which has been treated voluminously and eruditely by many authors. He is merely concerned with her present political and industrial position, and more especially with her recent departure in Formosa, of which little as yet is known to the general public.

Japan astonished the world in 1895 by the exhibition of a highly organised military machine in the Chino-

Japanese war, and her record during the recent operations in China has in every respect more than upheld her position. The assimilative power and high organising ability of the Japanese becomes daily more and more evident. In every department — in commerce, in manufacture, in military and naval affairs, even in art — she shows every sign of being seized by the restless activity of the Western world and of a determination to meet the West on its own ground, to enter the fields of rivalry, military and commercial, manufacturing and scientific.

While moribund China was allowing everything to decay, living Japan was planning, organising every branch of national development, especially her manufactures. The trade with China was rapidly increasing until the recent troubles. The Japanese exports to China increased in seven years (from 1893 to 1900) four and a half fold, and the imports from that country nearly doubled notwithstanding the serious check to trade owing to the recent disorders. The chief articles of export from China, tea and silk, afford an apposite example. While competition was growing in India and elsewhere, China, somnolent and fossilised, was allowing the quality of these articles to degenerate and gradually lost her hold on the trade. The value of these exports has not increased during the last dozen years, the only improvement being in silk cocoons and manufactured silk piece-goods. In contrast with this, the exports have increased in Japan at a great pace during the last sixteen years. Japan has doubled her exports of silk in fourteen years, while those of her silk manufactures from almost nothing in 1885 have risen to astounding figures. So serious was the Japanese production that hostile duties were

WAYSIDE SCENE IN JAPAN

established in both the United States and France. Cotton manufactures have risen to great figures.[1] Tea shows only a slight increase, due no doubt largely to the limited market for the peculiar-flavoured Japanese teas which find favour only in the United States — five-sixths of the growth goes there — and to the severe competition from India and Ceylon. Coal exports have risen to a value of fifteen million *yen*. Manufactures of wood and bamboos have grown into an important branch of trade, while copper, a new industry, has increased greatly.

Japanese cotton goods, the raw material coming from India, compete successfully with the goods of China, where raw material is procured on the spot. Coal, though inferior, being smoky and burning quickly, is doing an increasing business on account of its cheapness, especially along the whole extent of the Asiatic coast. While developing along the lines of manufacture and commerce, it cannot be questioned that in artistic lines Japan has degenerated as regards quality and design. Attempts are made to minimise the fact and fine work is still to be had; but the days of the old leisured art production, when an artist only worked when he had the inspiration, alas! those days are gone. The cheap (and nasty) work which floods the Western markets is produced not because the Japanese like it, — it revolts them, — but on the principle of *il faut vivre*.

The progress of trade has been extraordinary. Japan takes now (1900) £26,000,000 worth of goods from abroad, as compared with £4,500,000 in 1872 and £13,000,000 in 1890. The foreign trade of Japan is largely in the hands of Britain, whence she gets most

[1] The manufacture of silk, cotton, and other textiles has risen from sixteen million *yen* in 1886 to one hundred and eighty million *yen*.

of her cotton and linen goods, four-fifths of her machinery and wrought-iron and over half of her woollens, and the United States comes an easy second.[1] But Britain is *relatively* losing ground, and is far outstripped by the progress of the United States and Germany. In carrying, German tonnage has increased more than twelvefold (against the British five) and has risen from the position of one-nineteenth to that of one-ninth of the whole. The subsidised German system is about to be followed by another and more serious competitor, the United States, who are establishing new subsidised lines with steamers of the largest freight-carrying capacity under the national flag, and working in conjunction with the trans-continental railways. Both these countries enjoy preferential rates by railway to the ports of shipment, which confer a great advantage over their British competitors. Both, too, are preparing for other and more systematic endeavours to develop their trade with Japan and the whole Far East.

The large excess of imports over exports (now six million *yen*) is stated by Japanese to be largely due to the demand for machinery for improving their native

[1] 1899

Imports from			Exports to		
Australia	about 1¾	million yen	Australia	about 2	million yen
Belgium	5	" "	Belgium	¼	" "
British India	44	" "	British India	6	" "
China	28	" "	China	40	" "
France	6	" "	France	29	" "
Germany	17	" "	Germany	4	" "
Great Britain	45	" "	Great Britain	11	" "
Hong Kong	7	" "	Hong Kong	34	" "
Russian Asia	4½	" "	Russian Asia	2½	" "
United States	38	" "	United States	64	" "
Imports			**Exports**		
British Empire	97	" "	British Empire	55	" "
United States	38	" "	United States	64	" "

manufactures, and to this may also be added the iron, machinery, and appliances for naval construction. The Japanese Government is quite alive to the disadvantages attaching to this balance against Japan and all possible steps will be taken to minimise the evil. There can be no question that the Japanese mean to adopt the only plan for reducing the balance, and that is so far as possible themselves to make, in rapidly increasing quantity, everything necessary, whether for manufactures or naval purposes. Their chief ambition, and a perfectly legitimate one, is to become more and more independent of foreign sources.

Such rapid development in a country like Japan could only be accomplished by enormous efforts and sacrifices. The expenditure involved by numerous reforms, many of them unproductive, was at first partially met by the Chinese indemnity. This exhausted, Japan has had to pass through a severe financial crisis, and despite the attempt made to "save face" there is no doubt that she has been seriously affected by the scarcity of money. She has, however, been able to carry through the more ambitious of her schemes, and will now be able by a more normal expenditure to regain her balance unless forced into another war. Hitherto she has been averse to hypothecating any of her assets to foreigners, but now that she believes herself in a position to hold her own she is permitting the introduction of foreign capital with a view to developing her internal resources. This action seems to be leading her towards a dangerous path, for the Trust has made its appearance in Japan, and the American invasion is introducing some other elements which may prove troublesome in the future.

The density of Japan's population is remarkable, being

twice that of France, and showing an increase of 300,000 per annum. Moreover, the area for cultivation is extremely restricted and is already almost entirely taken up in the central and southern islands, while in mountainous Yezo the land is poor and the cultivable area small. These circumstances inevitably drive the people into the large manufacturing towns, and the necessity for providing work for them is another stimulus to the industrial schemes of the Government. The closing of America and Australia to the Japanese bars emigration except to her own colony of Formosa, and, as will be shown later, that island does not offer exceptional advantages.

It is difficult for any one who has not seen the Japanese at home to realise the extreme, though graceful, poverty of the bulk of the population. Our own working-classes are rich in comparison. The annual expenses of an average peasant family may be taken at about £9 or less. The dainty house, with its paper screens, white matting, a few flat cushions and cooking utensils, is intrinsically worth little more than a few shillings. The birdlike meals consist of a few morsels of fish, rice, and vegetables, with innumerable tiny cups of pale straw-coloured tea. The whole *ménage* is proverbially suggestive of a doll's house, and yet the Japanese coolie is stout and sturdy, and can carry weights and drag loads at which many a British workman would look askance, while the mechanics are diligent and skilful, the artists unrivalled, the tradespeople busy and polite — all on a meagre fare which Europeans would characterise as "rubbish." Japanese soldiers and sailors on a fare little better than this are able to support fatigue in a way that astonished their European companions in arms

during the recent campaign. Truly these are a wonderful little people, and it is to be hoped that Western civilisation will not sap the vitality which seems to be the outcome of centuries of low living and high thinking. Luxury is creeping in, the rates of living have gone up, and Japanese who have once taken to European dress and food cannot afterwards do without them. Many of the wiser heads are being shaken over all this, and already a reaction has set in and an attempt is being made to distinguish between false and true progress. Recent visitors to Japan must have noticed a great change in the almost universal return of the people to their national dress. Several years ago the streets were full of travestied European costumes, but a better sense has prevailed, notwithstanding the adherence of the Court to the hideous European style. There is also a tendency to revert to the true Japanese artistic methods, but still it is much to be feared that a people who have once lost the keen edge of their æsthetic perceptions so far as to produce shoals of inferior and shoddy work, can never again be the exquisite artists they were. Every one who visits Kioto, the ancient capital of Japan and one of the most interesting cities in the Empire, must have a painful memory of his first visit to one of the great china manufactories. The bowing, smiling attendant, speaking perfect English but clad, thank goodness, in a grey and black *kimono*, slides back a panel and one enters a room stacked on every side with jars of grotesque shapes decorated with blue, green, and purple dragons and chrysanthemums, as bright and garish as paint and gold leaf can make them. In answer to remonstrances and questions the polite Japanese, still smiling, replies that English and American people generally like these things — they are

made chiefly for Chicago — and of course Japanese people do not have them in *their* houses. A little later, seated on the matting in a bare but beautiful room, the sliding panels pushed back to reveal a tiny garden decorated with fountain, bridge, and little temple on a mimic hill, we are shown one by one real artistic treasures of finest workmanship and exquisite design, each jar in its own silk covering and beautifully made box.

What may be the fate of art in Japan when that country becomes a huge manufacturing depôt it is hard to say, but the manual dexterity of the Japanese will stand them in good stead, and unless modern methods grind away the workman's individual interest in his productions the artistic manufactures of Japan will continue to increase and surpass those of other nations. In more utilitarian branches Japan, with modern machinery and cheap labour, will be able to hold her own against the world. Technical schools organised on the German pattern and equal to the best in that country are established already, and are attended by thousands of mechanics, desirous of learning modern methods, who some years hence will constitute a formidable body. It is rather sad, if inevitable, to realise that Japan must become utilitarian if she is to retain her position, and it is not without regret that one sees such towns as Osaka, for instance, once known as the picturesque Venice of Japan, now dominated by hundreds of tall smoky chimneys and presenting an appearance not unlike that of Bradford or some other English manufacturing town. Cotton mills and other factories are found everywhere; glass-blowing (a new art for Japan) has been successfully founded; breweries abound; brushes are largely exported (chiefly to the United States); iron founderies and shipyards

have been built, where large vessels are now turned out; a new harbour at Osaka is in course of construction; match-making is already an enormous industry, and the trade embraces all parts of the East. Hideous Western advertisements are scattered over the country, even in the Inland Sea.

Japan has hitherto adopted a protectionist policy as necessary for the pushing of her new manufactures, and she has also by means of heavy subsidies to steamship lines increased that protection. It is not likely that she will reduce this, and it may be increased, until Japan's trade is absolutely established. The tariffs recently enacted against Japanese (among other foreign goods) in Australia, the United States, and France will probably lead to retaliatory measures. In Formosa, it is to be noted, a tariff of 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on imports was imposed by Japan after the conquest of the island.

Japan's political position is at the present moment a difficult one. When she first began her programme of reform and development she counted on the assistance of more than one of the Great Powers, if need should arise. She has been roughly disillusioned, for the evident desire of Great Britain and the United States has been merely to push her into the gap which they could not conveniently fill themselves. Thus she has been forced to watch the gradual encroachments of Russia and Germany upon China and the disintegration of that Empire itself. The only point on which, with or without assistance, she is resolved to stand is Korea, and if the partition of China should ever be carried into effect she will take care to get her share. At the crucial point of the recent occurrences in the Far East, Japan would have gone to considerable lengths to preserve the integ-

rity of China while establishing international trade with that Empire. Such a *dénouement* would have been far more advantageous to her than the present settlement, or rather lack of settlement, by which Russia chiefly is benefited. Unfortunately the two other Powers whose interests were identical with Japan's were both occupied elsewhere, and unwilling to embark on an active policy. They were only willing, as has been said before, to thrust "gallant little Japan" into the breach, but she is well aware that a serious misunderstanding with Russia which might lead to war would probably be disastrous at this crisis of her affairs.

Her wisest course, therefore, and one that in the writer's opinion she is bent on following for the present, is to sit still, rehabilitate her finances, develop her resources, and practise economy within reasonable limits; and finally to wait for something to turn up, for in politics, as in other games of mingled skill and chance, it is the unexpected that happens.

In the struggle for the mastery of the Pacific, Japan, unless hampered by another costly war, will be a serious rival of Great Britain and the United States in the newly opened markets and will run Germany close in the effort to gain a large share of the carrying trade. Japanese steamers both for freight and passengers are now plying to Europe, America, and Australia, and a proposal is being made for lines in connection with the great American trans-continental railways, which would enjoy the advantage of preferential rates and thus be in a superior position to British lines. This proposal is partially the result of American and German schemes for subsidised lines in the Pacific, against which Japan is determined to compete. The heavy subsidies granted

to the Japanese lines enable them to carry passengers and freight at considerably reduced rates, and the writer can testify to the excellence of the boats and the comfort of their arrangements; while the substitution of Japanese stewards and servants is a distinct gain on the side of courtesy and attention, and Japanese sailors inspire much more sense of security than do the Lascars seen on the chief British lines.

One of the most interesting and important of the recent developments of Japan, however, centres round her annexation of the island of Formosa and the influence it will have on the future of the Pacific; and this experiment in Oriental colonisation is so interesting that a chapter must be devoted exclusively to the subject.

JAPANESE CHILDREN

TAKAU, FORMOSA

CHAPTER XV

FORMOSA: JAPANESE AS COLONISTS

Formosa, which is now of peculiar interest as the scene of the first Oriental attempt at modern colonisation (the Chinese occupied it almost as part of China and did little with it), is in reality a part of the Asiatic continent, from which it was broken off at some remote period. A shallow strait, eighty miles wide in the narrowest part, separates it from China, and the side of the island facing the mainland is low-lying and shallow, while the east coast is lined from north to south by coast ranges, part of the high central mountain system, which is of volcanic origin. The Pacific coast, therefore, presents an almost impenetrable barrier and contains no real harbours, while the monsoons which at certain seasons dash against it render navigation

extremely dangerous. A terrible coast this for wrecks, and a terrible fate formerly awaited the unfortunate sailors cast on these inhospitable shores; and yet it was this rock-bound coast which gave Formosa its name of "the Beautiful," a *sobriquet* hard to be understood by the traveller who knows only the flat western plains. Those who have been fortunate enough to skirt the east of the island agree that the scenery is among the sights of the world. Cliffs rising sheer from the water to a height of 7000 feet, ragged crags, slender spires, polished domes, — all the weird fantasies of rock-construction, — are clothed in rich vegetation which hangs like a curtain over the rough broken outlines. Silver streams fall in cascades from giddy heights, rushing cataracts foam into mountain streams and cut their way through dark ravines. Through some sudden cleft one gets a glimpse of green valleys and nestling villages. The whole scene is of wild and romantic beauty and justifies the enthusiasm of the Portuguese discoverers.

There are practically no good harbours in the island. Keelung and Tamsui on the north are situated at the mouths of rivers, and the former is being rendered serviceable at great expenditure, but neither are satisfactory. Anping, the harbour of the capital Tainan-fu, situated on the edge of the great western plain, is shallow and without shelter, and is moreover being gradually filled up. Old Dutch pictures of the seventeenth century show their ships tied up to the shore at Tainan, which is now several miles inland, and Anping, where the old Dutch Fort Zeelandia stood, was then an island. On the south is Takau, where landing through the surf in catamarans is one of the least pleasant experi-

ences that awaits the visitor. These four ports already named are the principal and in fact the only important towns in Formosa, and to all intents and purposes they are Chinese; but a large part of the interior, including practically all the mountain country, is in the possession of tribes, either aboriginal and savage or semi-civilised and of mixed race. The latter are known to the Chinese as Pepo-hwan and are a very useful part of the population, being settled for the most part on the lower terraces or upland valleys, while the wilder tribes live in the mountains. Who and what these aborigines are is a subject very much debated, and it is to be regretted that hitherto they have not received much really scientific attention. There is no doubt that they display great dissimilarity in different parts of the island, but not more than might be expected when we remember the proximity of Formosa to China, the Philippines, and Japan, and the position of the island in the centre of the typhoon district which naturally led to frequent involuntary immigration on the part of sailors of various nationalities. Although a great number of these were killed, yet there are evidences of intermarriage, for instance in the Amias tribe, whose traditions say that they are descended from a shipwrecked crew of white men who were allowed to settle on condition that their descendants should always remain in servitude. The modern Amias, while practically free, acknowledges a sort of social inferiority to the other natives. The most reasonable hypothesis is that the aboriginal stock is the same as that found largely in Borneo and the Philippines, — pre-Malay, — and this supposition is borne out by several significant facts. There are few, if any, Arabian or Hindoo words found in the native vocabu-

laries, which makes it certain that they must date back to a very remote period in Malayan history. The Formosans practise head-hunting, have a tradition of the first man and woman, are peculiarly sensitive to all omens, but especially those connected with bird cries, and in many other respects resemble strongly the Dyaks of Borneo and other pre-Malay tribes. Their features vary in different tribes, but are seldom of the Mongolian type, the round eyes, straight features, and general cast of countenance being much more allied to the Caucasian. Many of them recognise this fact, and treated the first Europeans they saw as kinsmen in contrast with the Chinese, whom they regarded as interlopers. The men of these wild tribes are occupied in hunting, fishing, and shooting, in all of which they excel, and their women, as is the case in all Malay lands, are beasts of burden, carrying on not only the work of the household but such manufactures and agriculture as are necessary for raiment and food.

The true savages of the hills have hitherto resisted any attempt at taming them. They are not on the whole a ferocious or wicked people, but are extremely tenacious of their rights. Although some of the tribes live in neatly constructed villages, the houses built of bamboo, or even of stone roofed with slate, the more savage seem to have lost the art of house-building and, in curious contrast to the aborigines of all islands of the Malay archipelago, dig holes in the earth to live in. The Dyak invariably constructs his dwelling on high wooden piles or among the branches of trees.

The mixed race, or Pepo-hwan, is spoken of in favourable terms by missionaries and others who live amongst them. They exhibit an open and guileless disposition

which they certainly do not owe to the Mongolian side of their ancestry. Two of them, it is said, were once disputing over the division of three dollars, which was their joint property. They could not devise a means by which it should be equally shared — they took a dollar each, but the odd one lay in the road and baffled them. Along came a Chinaman to whom they eagerly appealed, and he promised to settle the matter. Taking the three dollars he handed them one each and pocketed the odd one. The two Pepo-hwan went on their way delighted by this simple way out of their difficulty.

The confusion of races and tongues in Formosa has been complicated by the immigration of Chinese both from north and south who speak distinct dialects. From the adjacent province of Fukien the stream of immigration must have been more or less constant for centuries; and although tradition says that the Chinese did not "discover" Formosa till 1403, it seems extremely unlikely that no intercourse should have taken place before that date, since the Formosan mountains and even the coast-line are clearly visible from the mainland in clear weather. The Fukien people are called in Formosa Hok-los, and they occupy all the west coast and alluvial plain from north to south, while on their borders, in the villages between the lower ranges, are the Hakkas, or "strangers," who are from North China and speak a dialect of mandarin or Court Chinese. These were originally emigrants from their own country to the prosperous southern province of Kwangtung (Canton), where they lived in a state of continual warfare with the natives, and were at length forcibly expelled, slaughtered, or driven across to Formosa. They are clever and industrious but turbulent.

HALF-BREED PAGAN TRIBE, FORMOSA

The real history of Formosa begins with the advent of the Dutch in 1624. Some two years previously the Dutch East India Company had established itself on the group of islands between Formosa and the mainland known as the Pescadores. Driven thence by the objections of the Chinese, they established themselves at Tainan and gradually extended their authority until it practically included the whole west coast. They found a considerable population of semi-civilised aborigines, and were extremely successful in their missionary labours which were begun on a large scale. The increased prosperity of this part of the island, however, drew to Formosa a large number of Chinese, and finally attracted the notice of that remarkable free-lance known to Europe as Koxinga. He had been for some time in revolt against the Tartar dynasty which had just seized the Dragon throne. Hard pressed by the Manchus, he determined to establish himself in Formosa, and in 1660 collected a large fleet of junks with which he laid siege to Fort Zeelandia, as the Dutch had called their principal settlement. The story of this epoch in Formosan history is interwoven with that of Japan, for it was just before this that the emperor of Japan, alarmed by the progress being made by the Christian religion in his empire, decreed its persecution and extermination, drove out the missionaries, and only allowed European traders to reside on the island of Desima on the most degrading conditions. The Dutch East India Company alone agreed to these terms, and it was in the hope of propitiating Japan that they began to discountenance the work going on in Formosa. This was only one of the wheels within wheels which was crippling the power of the Dutch East India Company. The result was that in the hour

of need no help was sent to the unfortunate colony and that, after a siege of nine months, Fort Zeelandia was compelled to surrender. The twin fortress of Providentia had been captured some time before and its defenders put to the sword, but the Governor and survivors in Fort Zeelandia were allowed to depart in the one ship that remained to them. On reaching Batavia the unfortunate Governor was arraigned for having surrendered so valuable a colony, and perished miserably in exile. All the Dutch missionaries and schoolmasters scattered throughout Formosa were cruelly put to death, and a large number of their converts tortured and killed, while others fled to more remote districts of the mountains, where their descendants may still be found cherishing the memory of the Dutch, and treasuring documents handed down from the time of their brief occupation.

Koxinga's family remained in possession till the third generation, and the only event of interest for some years was the attempt on the part of the English East India Company to establish factories at Tainan. The son of Koxinga had issued a general invitation to foreigners to come and trade with his kingdom, but apparently he was not prepared to do much to forward their interests, for after a very short period the Company sent peremptory orders that their servants should leave the island. Koxinga's grandson did not feel equal to the task of governing Formosa, and therefore made his submission to the court of Peking, or as is perhaps more probable, he went on a mission to the court and was never suffered to return. In any case he was made a hereditary noble with the title of "Duke of the Sea-realm," and his descendants and those of the Manchu dynasty are said to be the only hereditary nobles in China.

FORMOSA SAVAGES

For administrative purposes Formosa became part of the province of Fukien, being divided into prefectures and governed from Fuchau. Continual warfare was waged between the Chinese and aborigines, but, while the intermediate tribes in many cases submitted and adopted the Chinese dress and queue, the hill tribes remained absolutely independent and kept up little intercourse with their neighbours, only descending from their fastnesses to capture heads or indulge in one of their numerous clan fights. Missionary efforts were recommenced during the latter half of the eighteenth century by the Jesuits, who found remnants of Dutch teaching among the aborigines; but no other intercourse with the outside world took place until, in 1842, two ill-fated British ships were driven by weather to take refuge on the north coast. Their unfortunate crews and passengers (numbering in all one hundred and ninety-seven) were taken to Tainan-fu, kept in imprisonment four months, and then led out to the great north gate of the city and decapitated. This event, happening just after the Treaty of Nanking, led to a great outburst of feeling amongst Europeans in China, but was overlooked by the British Government after an expression of regret from Peking and the nominal punishment of the guilty Formosan officials.

After the war between Great Britain and China, which culminated in 1860 in the Treaty of Tientsin, two Formosan ports, Takau and Tamsui, were thrown open to foreign trade in accordance with provisions in that treaty, and British subjects and missionaries were to be allowed safe-conducts in the island. This was the beginning of European trade and very soon at both these ports, and

also at Keelung and Tainan-fu, European bungalows, warehouses, and mission stations sprang up. The Dominicans and Jesuits were already at work, the English Presbyterian mission began at Tainan-fu and the Canadian Presbyterians at Tamsui.

A significant incident took place in 1874, when, as China refused to take responsibility or pay compensation for the murder of a shipwrecked Japanese boat crew on the east coast, Japan fitted out an expedition and, landing on the south coast of the island, inflicted chastisement on the natives. China was at once alarmed and protested loudly, but the Japanese only withdrew on the payment of a heavy indemnity and a guarantee against such occurrences in the future.

After this affair some attempt was made by the Chinese to really subdue and open up the island, but road-making and railways, the best of pacificators, were beyond their powers. Accounts differ very much as to the methods employed in subduing the natives — one story being that, among other brilliant ideas, the Chinese imported tigers from the mainland to thin the numbers of the aborigines, while other witnesses claim that very few harsh measures were employed. The beginning of a railway which was to run all down the west of the island was one of the most beneficial measures; telegraphs were introduced, roads were begun, and the island was re-portioned out into prefectures and counties, and some effort made to secure law and order.

During the Franco-Chinese war, in 1885, Formosa was blockaded by the fleet of France, Keelung and Tamsui were bombarded, and there seemed a chance that the debatable island might fall altogether into her hands. France indeed more than once "nibbled," as the

saying is, at Formosa, but took no decisive step. Under these circumstances Japan during the Chino-Japanese war, in 1895, fixed her mind firmly on the island and its attendant Pescadores, the value of which will hereafter be made plain. The story of the war and its *dénouement*, the Treaty of Shimosekei, are too well known to need recapitulation. Japan, warned off the Liaotung peninsula by Russia, France, and Germany, had to fall back on Formosa. The Chinese had called in the banditti known as "Black Flags" to aid them in defending the island, and during the hiatus between the formal handing over of authority to Japan at the end of May 1895, and the actual appearance of the new masters on the scene (except in the north) some months later, great disorder prevailed and much suffering was the consequence.

A republic was proclaimed by the "Black Flags" in Tainan-fu, but no resistance was made when the Japanese army at last appeared after having fought its way through much opposition from north to south. The people had been taught by the mandarinate and literati to expect great barbarism from the Japanese, so much so that at one place alone forty girls drowned themselves rather than fall into their hands. Much has been said of the cruelties practised by the conquering army, but unprejudiced observers agree that, taking all things into consideration — the victorious march of a conquering army, the wild nature of some of the people encountered, and the novelty of the whole expedition — the Japanese commanders behaved with moderation, the majority of officers doing all they could to restrain their men. Without wishing to act in any way as the apologist of the Japanese the writer is forced, in view of the behaviour of the allied troops during recent events in

North China, to argue that if such excesses were committed by white soldiers with their presumably higher standards of morality and humanity, we must not judge too severely the conduct of the Japanese in Formosa.

In the period just after the Japanese had possessed themselves of the country, the people were so much in awe of their new masters as to attempt no kind of disturbances. But towards the close of 1896 discontented spirits became bolder, and there was something like a partial rebellion, especially in the region of Western Formosa midway between north and south (it cannot be called the central region, because the eastern half of Formosa is mountainous and uninhabited except by savages). In the suppression of this rebellion great recklessness and injustice were displayed, the rebels (or rather the banditti) escaping to the hills, while the villages in which they had temporarily harboured were burned, and the inhabitants, often quite innocent, suffered loss both of property and life. There was a good deal of comment at the time in the Japanese and still more in the foreign press, which led to an improvement. The Emperor of Japan afterwards made some reparation to the homeless villagers, and more care was exercised in subsequent military expeditions; but, as was inevitable, the relations between the Japanese and Formosans were greatly embittered and the robber-bands swelled. There thus ensued a period of chronic disturbance, and for at least a couple of years the country roads in many places were often quite unsafe for travel.

Many Japanese lost their lives during this period, and the intention of the Government to bring numbers of colonists from Japan to settle in the country and form a useful backbone or reserve could not be carried out.

INDONESIAN HEAD-HUNTERS, FORMOSA

Owing to the disturbed condition of the country the immigrants would not leave the larger towns where, with varying success, they engaged chiefly in shopkeeping. More recently, however, there has been a considerable influx of Japanese immigrants, and the towns are being improved and rebuilt, while others are springing up. This is no doubt mainly due to the closing of California, Australia, and British Columbia as fields of emigration.

One chief hindrance in the way of progress towards a better understanding with the people was, strange to say, the neglect on the part of Japanese officials to make themselves acquainted with the Chinese dialects as spoken by the Formosans. They were thus dependent upon such of the natives as happened to possess some knowledge of the Japanese language, or, using the Mandarin dialect, they employed the underlings of the late Government as interpreters. Seldom able to obtain information at first hand, the Japanese officials, even when themselves incorruptible (and in the earlier days quite a number of unworthy men were in office), were thus compelled to use undesirable instruments. Their methods of examination, too, were very summary; torture was frequently employed to force confession, wrongful imprisonment was not uncommon, and many innocent persons suffered imprisonment and not a few even death. There thus became ingrained in the people a universal dread of the Japanese police and, of course, a general feeling of hostility to their present rulers. Latterly, however, the officials who replaced the earlier failures have adopted a different line of conduct and have gained much in consequence. Some of the Japanese police have become familiar with the Chinese speech and begin to under-

stand Chinese ways. At the same time schools for teaching Japanese to the natives have been established in every local centre, and the pupils and teachers are often on very cordial terms. Cases have actually occurred of robbers sparing a Japanese teacher in consideration of the good work upon which he was engaged. The Japanese have begun to successfully employ native soldiers and police, while at the same time, by copying the politic Chinese plan of inducing the robbers to surrender on condition of immunity or even by offers of employment, — ex-robbers becoming carriers of the mails and so forth, — they have made the task of the purely Japanese police a lighter one. On the whole, the relations of the Japanese authorities with the Formosans compare favourably with that of the Chinese mandarins in former days.

Industrially and commercially matters remain much as before. The great majority of the inhabitants are engaged in rice cultivation. Tea is exported from the northern districts. The camphor trade has become a Government monopoly, and doubtless the Government will see that the camphor forests are not further destroyed without replanting. There has so far been little or no development in the way of mining or manufacture, but an important change will very likely take place when the railway now in course of construction has been opened from north to south of the island; the work however has not yet proceeded sufficiently to affect the general state of the country. The great trunk line from Takau in Southern Formosa to Keelung in the north, which has been talked about ever since the Japanese occupation in 1895, has made but indifferent progress. The old Chinese line from Keelung south-

wards is still in use, and is being relaid by the Japanese, who are also laying a branch from Taipeh (the northern capital) to Tamsui. In the south the railway has been opened from Takau to a point a dozen miles north of Tainan-fu. In all nearly one hundred miles have been laid, north and south, and there remains a length of about one hundred and seventy miles, at present in construction, to complete the connection. This portion of the line is used temporarily with trollies, thus giving connection between the north and the south of the island, but is only a degree less inconvenient than the sea route, which is extremely trying on account of the terrible weather prevalent in the Formosa channel. No doubt the completion of the railway will tend to the suppression of robbery and disorder; meanwhile off the railroad track — the main highway of the island — loads are everywhere carried on men's shoulders as before, no wheeled vehicles being used except in one or two of the cities. There are as yet no good roads, but the Japanese have broadened and straightened some of the principal paths, and those into the savage country have been improved. The savages, however, far from being subdued, have, so far as one can learn, been rather more troublesome of late years. As regards the present state of the lowland country it is now in a more settled condition than at any time since the occupation, and this improvement has especially taken place during the last year or two. Cleanly Japanese villages and comfortable rest-houses make travelling easier and more possible for Europeans, and the latter are a great improvement on the filthy Chinese inns.

From a foreigner's point of view the postal service is a great convenience, and the Formosans are more and

more learning to make use of it. The telegraph service, which existed even in the days of Chinese rule, has been very much extended throughout the island. Prices have risen greatly since the Japanese acquired Formosa, in many cases having doubled, but as wages have risen at the same time, the people are neither better nor worse off than they were before. Still they are better able to purchase Western goods, which have become relatively cheaper, and many are learning, for example, to use the tinned milk of the Anglo-Swiss Company, which holds the field almost without a rival.

The people complain of the taxes which burden all classes, whereas, according to their account, under Chinese rule the load lay chiefly upon the shoulders of the rich. It strikes an onlooker that the Japanese (partly from ignorance of the native speech) pay very dearly for work done, and consequently the administration of the island has been terribly costly and out of proportion to the results achieved.

Under Japanese rule Christianity meets with encouragement, for it is recognised that, under the influence of missionaries, so long as they do not interfere in politics, the natives are more peaceable and better citizens. In the early days of the Japanese occupation to be a Christian was even a passport to favour, since it was recognised that the missionaries discountenanced any rebellion against established authority. A suspected household was sometimes acquitted if it could produce a hymn-book, and the demand for these immediately went up. The Japanese devised a further test—the repetition of the names of the twelve apostles—and the missionaries were at once besieged with possible converts who desired to be instructed in this useful particular. Chris-

tianity, however, apart from these temporary aberrations, has obtained a firm footing, and it is interesting to note that a Japanese Christian missionary — perhaps the first ever known — is at work in the island.

Little has been said hitherto of the physical characteristics of the island, but they are of great importance in gauging the future of the first Oriental colony. As might be expected from its position, Formosa enjoys a

JAPANESE MISSIONARY WITH CHINESE AND PEPO-HWAN CONVERTS

tropical climate and is trying as a residence for white men, more on account of the fever prevalent on the low-lying plains and at the ports than from any peculiarly trying heat. The Japanese, accustomed to a sharp winter, at first suffered a good deal in health, but are nevertheless singularly hardy where climate is concerned, and will probably find Formosa later on quite congenial. The agricultural possibilities of the island are great, the alluvial plain of which the western side

is chiefly composed being eminently suitable for sugar, rice, and other crops; but agriculture, which owes most of its success so far to the plodding industry of the Chinese, has also suffered from their mulish conservatism and opposition to reform. The camphor trade, once valuable, is another instance of their short-sighted policy. From being a considerable industry in the hands of foreign firms it became a monopoly of the Taotai, who farmed it out, and by the injudicious and wasteful methods employed the trees were so damaged that the amount of camphor obtained dwindled to a mere nothing.

There is coal in the north, notably at Keelung, but the quality is said to be inferior. The method of mining until a dozen years ago was primitive in the extreme. Horizontal tunnels were worked into the hillsides, inclined upwards to permit the egress of accumulated water, and into these a man crawled and excavated small lumps of coal. This method was slightly amended even before the Japanese arrived, but, though the authorities have improved matters very much, there still remains a good deal to be done in the introduction of scientific mining. Sulphur is another of the natural products which has not been thoroughly exploited; coffee is said to be a failure, there is little valuable timber, and tea, although largely exported, is not of the finest kind. The great drawback to all industries is, however, the entire lack of good ports and of navigable waterways, but the latter want is being partially remedied by the completion of the railway system, which will run through the most fertile districts and connect the principal towns, and the former by the improvement of Keelung harbour. Since the suppression of piracy the considerable trade

in small junks plying between Formosa and the mainland has greatly increased, and large quantities of rice are exported annually. The trade is chiefly with China.

The fabulous wealth with which Formosa was credited, in the days when that island was still shrouded in mystery, will be seen from the foregoing sketch to be somewhat exaggerated; and the writer is inclined to think that the traveller who, lured by its title of "the Beautiful," first lands at Takau, and sees the bare uninteresting outline of Ape's hill dominating a mean town on a mud flat, will feel equally disillusioned. Nor are Keelung and Tamsui, though more pleasantly situated with backgrounds of wooded slopes and distant mountains, interesting or beautiful in themselves; it is only the eastern mountain range which really repays a visit from an æsthetic point of view. Unfortunately that coast is remote, and touched at only by a few small Japanese steamers. The range is still occupied by irreconcilable savages, who continue to give a great deal of trouble, and it will inevitably take many years to reduce them all to submission. Thus the beautiful side of Formosa remains a *terra incognita*.

In the towns one hears the new administration spoken well of, but at the same time the few British firms who have long been established in the various ports are mostly leaving the island, presumably because they cannot compete with the Japanese, who regard Formosa as a market for their own manufactures. Until the whole country is pacified and open the market will not be a satisfactory one, and until harbours, railways, and roads are improved, Formosa will continue to fall short of her possibilities. One of the most notable acts of the new administration has been, following the example of

Holland in Java, the prohibition of opium, and this has destroyed a very considerable trade. There seems reason, however, to believe that Japan intends generally to adopt not the Dutch East Indian method of ruling her colonies, but that of Great Britain, in which case she will not mind expense and loss at the outset so long as she lays the foundation-stone of success.

The strategic importance of Formosa was, however, the real reason of its annexation by Japan, and this is far greater than, considering the lack of good harbours in the island, might appear at first sight, for Japan has the advantage of safe and spacious harbours in the Pescadores. Through the Formosa channel is *the* route for vessels of all classes plying from south and east, from Europe and Australasia, to the north of the Asiatic coast. It is rendered more important by the fact that the open ocean east of Formosa, during a great part of the year rendered dangerous by the monsoons, is also subject to typhoons. Japan therefore dominates a channel almost as important in its way as that through the Straits of Gibraltar, and with the advantage of safe harbours in the Pescadores. Moreover she occupies a dominating position as regards a large portion of the Chinese coast, and should the partition of China develop still further she will undoubtedly — must indeed in self-defence — push her claim to that part of the empire facing Formosa and largely bound up with it by ties of blood and mutual intercourse. Holding these views she is spending enormous sums on Keelung harbour and the development of the island. Formosa has been a serious charge and is likely to be so for many years to come. In the first flush of victory and colonial expansion the Japanese indulged the vain hope that the island would

be self-supporting. Instead of this an annual subvention of about £600,000 has to be granted, nor does this at all represent the whole assistance given by Japan to her colony.

It is because of the increased importance which the acquisition of Formosa gives to Japan in the Pacific that a sketch of the island has been included in this volume. A question of deep interest is raised also by

KEELUNG, FORMOSA

the consideration of the various systems of colonisation practised on the islands and coasts of the great Pacific Ocean. Can the Japanese colonise? On the success of their experiment in Formosa depends the effectiveness of that island for the strategic purposes already mentioned, for unless they can establish peace and order, make good communications, and provide a harbour and coaling station, Formosa, even with the Pescadores, will be merely a white elephant.

The faculty for colonisation — that is, the making of new home-lands, united by closest ties to the mother country, and yet self-contained and prosperous — is not given to every race or every nation. The Anglo-Saxons pride themselves that they possess the gift in its fullest development, but time has yet to try their efforts in many quarters. They certainly succeed in getting the best out of a country, and this they do in tropical lands without, as a rule, oppressing the natives. There is more than one method to be employed, as has been already shown, and the writer is inclined to think that the British is the best, in tropical countries at all events, and, as has been said already, this seems the policy most favoured by the Japanese. Whether they possess the mystic faculty or not time only can show, but it must be remembered that they had to begin under most unfavourable conditions. Hitherto the experiences of Japanese in other colonies goes to show that they do not become absorbed in the same way as either the Chinese or Germans, who, though in a widely different manner, seem to become an integral part of the country they adopt. The Germans do this far more thoroughly than any other nation — a curious fact, for one does not usually credit the Teuton with adaptability. Nevertheless the emigrating Germans prefer to filter into foreign lands where their commercial abilities and plodding perseverance usually raise them to good positions (a point of resemblance with the Chinese), and where they rapidly become denationalised. They prefer this to pioneering in their own far-distant possessions in West Africa or New Guinea, in fact they are good colonists anywhere but on German soil. The German colonisation craze came too late; the best countries were already

occupied and Germans had acquired the habit of going to foreign lands. The Chinese present an even more remarkable paradox, for they expatriate themselves and yet retain their nationality even to the third and fourth generation. It is a difficult matter to explain, but is perhaps partly the result of long centuries of autocratic government accompanied by a great deal of personal freedom. Wherever he goes, therefore, the Chinaman is a good subject and peaceful so long as he may live, eat, sleep, and be unsanitary, in his own peculiar way. His calm assurance of superiority over all other people prevents him from any desire to copy their dress or manners, and the chief tie which binds him to his mother country is the desire to be buried in her soil. Consequently, although one speaks with accuracy of the British colony in Dresden or the American colony in Rome, — little groups of people whose nationality is the most prominent thing about them, and who are quite outside the political and social life of the country they inhabit, — yet it would be inaccurate to talk of the Chinese colony at Singapore (Chinese *quarter* is the only expression), just as one never hears of the German colony in London or New York. The British and American sturdy antipathy to speak any language but their own is no doubt one reason for this, but at the same time we must give our countrymen credit for a patriotic dislike to live under any flag but their own.

Japan seems to have borrowed the antipathetic attitude towards foreign languages at the beginning of her career in Formosa, but she is not in a position to force her own tongue upon other nations as the Anglo-Saxons are doing throughout the Pacific. There is every reason, however, to believe that the subjects of the Japan-

ese Emperor are as keenly tenacious of their nationality and as proud of their flag as the Western nations they desire to emulate; and this fact, taken in conjunction with their adaptability, receptiveness, and power of organisation, should go far towards making the colony of Formosa a success. Japan went to Formosa for strategic reasons, and strategically the experiment is fully justified. In view of her situation in the Pacific and the vast changes occurring there, she could not afford to see the great Chinese Empire, with its 320 millions of people and unrivalled resources, broken up and parcelled out, without occupying an influential position which would enable her some day to speak with authority.

ON THE EAST COAST OF FORMOSA

OTHER POWERS IN THE PACIFIC

NATIVES, CANOES, AND HUTS, BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO

CHAPTER XVI

GERMANY, FRANCE, RUSSIA, AND CHINA

So far we have dealt with the four Powers chiefly concerned in the Pacific, — Great Britain, the United States, Japan, and Holland, — and now, to complete our rough survey, a glance must be given to the other Powers who also have important interests in or bordering that ocean. Amongst these the first place must be given to Germany and France, not that they are the most important factors, but because both possess considerable interests among the islands of the Pacific, as well as still greater ones on the mainland of Asia. China and Russia — Powers in Asia facing the Pacific, each with a great extent of seaboard, will be referred to later.

The transformation which has taken place in the Pacific has been proceeding for half a century or more. But the abrupt appearance of Germany marked the opening of an era of activity in this part of the world.

Seventeen years ago Germany, whose appetite was whetted by the scramble for Africa, appeared in the Pacific and has since obtained control of six groups of islands, — the Bismarck archipelago, the Marshall archipelago, part of the Solomon islands, part of the Samoa group, the Caroline and Pelew islands, and the Marianne or Ladrones (excepting Guam) — and of Kaiser Wilhelm Land (German New Guinea). France has been present in the Pacific since the beginning of the last century, her chief possessions being the Marquesas, New Caledonia, the Loyalty and Society islands, the Low archipelago, and the Austral islands (on which Rapa is situated), while she has a joint interest with Britain in the New Hebrides. Within the past few years Spain has disappeared from the scene altogether and has been replaced by the great Western Republic.

The transformation on the mainland of Asia, which has been more striking, may be recalled in a few words. China, defeated and humbled in 1895, has since been unable to defend herself, and but for the jealousies of the Powers would be a carcass for the wolves. Germany has acquired Kiaochau and practically control of a large province with a population of over twenty millions. France, already established in Annam and Tongking, has since obtained territory at Kwangchauwan and valuable rights in Southern China. Russia has crossed Asia with an iron road, and now established on the Pacific, is in practical possession of Manchuria and has Mongolia and Turkestan at her mercy. Britain has obtained the territory of Kaulung opposite Hong Kong and Wei-hai-Wei in the north. Japan has lapped up Formosa and the Pescadores, of which an account has already been given, and is ready to move on to the main-

land. The minor European Powers, while not yet obtaining a foothold in the Empire, have acquired through the indemnity a monetary interest in her affairs. The only great Power that has not yet found her opportunity in the extremity of China is the United States.

After the advent of the United States in the Philippines, — by far the most important event, — among the chief changes in the Pacific has been the rise of the maritime power of Germany, that nation having secured here as elsewhere a large and increasing share of the ocean traffic. Germany, yearly becoming more and more industrial and commercial, is, except Britain, more than any other European country dependent on foreign supplies of food and in a lesser degree on foreign supplies of raw and semi-manufactured materials. The economic development of Germany therefore is pushing her increasingly in the direction of sea power, and everywhere in the Western Pacific she is making great progress in ocean carriage, as has been noted on several occasions in these pages.

A PAPUAN

Of the German territories in or bordering the Pacific there is only need to notice here the more important of her acquisitions, namely German Samoa and Kaiser

Wilhelm Land and on the mainland Kiaochau Bay, with its important Hinterland.

The German Government has as yet done very little, practically nothing, to develop her island possessions. There is, however, some sign of activity at last at Apia, the port of the Samoan islands, Savaii and Upolu.[1] The annual sum allotted as a State subsidy (£7300) seems totally inadequate for the purpose, and the same mistake seems to have been made here that is found to exist at Kiaochau, as well as in the other Pacific and African possessions — the constant interference with local officials. The German tendency, with an extreme centralisation and love of theorising, is towards academic criticism and curtailment of all initiative of the local officials. Both the Imperial Governor and Judge in Samoa are reported to be men of culture and administrative talent, and a free hand to the men on the spot would have been the wisest plan in a position of considerable difficulty, where much delicacy and tact were required, and where the local circumstances must have been better understood than in Berlin. So far there seems little disposition on the part of the German officials to interfere unduly with the internal life of the natives, and the same policy seems to be pursued by the United States in Tutuila.

In Kaiser Wilhelm Land (of which mention has been made already in a reference to New Guinea), with its great area and sparse population of 110,000, there are only sixty Europeans, nearly all Germans and mostly officials. Oceanic development was originally entrusted

[1] In 1889 Great Britain, the United States, and Germany came to an arrangement, which lasted till 1898, when on the death of the King disturbances arose, Great Britain renounced all rights over the islands in favour of the United States in Tutuila and other islands, and of Germany in Savaii and Upolu.

NATIVE WOMEN AND HUTS, NEW HEBRIDES

to the German New Guinea Company, but the administration was taken over by the Imperial Government in 1897. The revenue a year or two ago was roughly 75,000 marks and expenditure 732,000 marks. The subvention increases yearly, and considerable sums are expended on the control of the other possessions, though hardly anything is being done with them. Experiments in planting and endless report-making seem to be the chief results so far.

To turn to the mainland. At Tsing-tao, in Shantung — not Kiaochau city, which is 45 miles westward of the great naval and commercial base which is being created by Germany on the promontory of the bay — the chief works being carried out by the Germans are the railway towards the extensive Shantung coal-fields, of which already about 90 miles are open, which it is hoped will be completed this year, and the deep-water harbour and model town of Tsingtao, on which a sum of something like £10,000,000 will probably have to be spent. These coal-fields, at Weihsien and elsewhere, are said to be of great extent and good quality. The coal supply is counted on as of great importance for the working of the railway and developing the trade of the port, but its chief value is as a coaling station for the German navy and the control which it will enable the railway to confer over the province of Shantung. Besides the extensive improvements being carried out on the harbour and breakwater, there are drainage and other works, while public buildings have been erected, schools started, and a hospital and bacteriological institution founded. The new town has already fine hotels, large business houses, private dwellings, and a fine sea front. The railways, coal-fields, and everything in the German sphere are German only.

Kiaochau has failed to flourish for several reasons. Great importance is attached to the independence of the local government, we are told officially, but the place, artificially created and artificially maintained, is governed by red tape. The policy is to secure immediate and direct advantage to the mother land. Everything German is favoured in a most ridiculous manner, but the German merchants, however enthusiastic they may be over the colonial policy, have hitherto shown a marked disinclination to settle or invest at Kiaochau. No wonder that this should be the case when, accustomed to the most complete liberty, courtesy, and consideration in the neighbouring British colonies and the treaty ports of China, they find themselves treated by their own officials like recruits in the hands of a Prussian officer. The treatment accorded them is galling in the extreme, and indeed must be unbearable, for the *amour propre* of the German trader is not easily ruffled in the search for wealth. If the Germans do not flock to Tsingtao, the Chinese traders are showing their practical belief in its future by settling and investing in property there.

A garrison of about 1500 men is maintained, and there are judicial courts for Europeans, with an appeal to the German Consular Court at Shanghai. The local council is composed of the heads of the several administrative departments under the personal supervision of the Governor; to this official element are added three members chosen from the civil population and appointed for one year, the first nominated by the Governor, the second chosen from members of the non-Chinese firms, and the third without distinction of nationality. In addition there are endless Committees. Among the chief defects observable is the fact that the officials as a rule

NATIVE DANCE, SAMOA

are ignorant of commercial interests and have a fine contempt for trade. There is a tendency to employ Germans in subordinate posts which could be more economically filled by natives, and the expenditure for administration is therefore excessive. The Chinese can only sell land to the Government, who re-sell to European settlers, — almost entirely Germans, — with a view, it is claimed, to founding a self-governing municipality and creating a proper harbour. There has been a good deal of loose talk as to maintaining Kiaochau a free port, but "liberty of action" is reserved by the German Government, and with Russia closing her territories and the United States imposing a heavy tariff and excluding Chinese, the Germans are hardly likely to grant the freedom of Kiaochau.

The tendency of Germans to settle in foreign lands has been remarked on more than once in these pages. As long as Germany has only inferior places to colonise and the German colonial system remains what it is, so long will German peasants decline to go to their own colonies, or German merchants to places like Kiaochau. But the object of Germany is to establish at Kiaochau a great naval base, a centre of German influence, from which political control can be spread further and further afield. An increasing influence over-sea is certain to be one of the chief aims of the German Government, — an influence which in the absence of successful colonies they will seek to sustain by means of these artificially maintained establishments which are by no means to be dismissed as worthless. If they serve no other purpose, they are so many *points d'appui* from which Germany can claim, and not merely claim but exercise, the right to have a say in the disposal of the various questions which may

arise, and can by sea or land bring influence to bear on other nations, especially on the great colonial and maritime Power, Britain.

The colonies and dependencies of France (including Algeria and Tunis) amount to 3,700,000 square miles, with a population of 57,000,000. Of this population about 35,000,000 belong to her African and West Indian territories, roughly, 22,000,000 to Indo-China and a mere handful (about 80,000) to Oceania. Most of the colonies have some measure of self-government and elective councils to assist the Governor, and some of the older colonies have direct representation in the French legislature.

These colonies are a constant and ever-increasing drain on France. They are for her the tiger which she has mounted (to use the Chinese phrase) and which she can neither manage nor get rid of. Few of them have a revenue to cover the cost of administration. In 1900 the estimated direct expenditure was over £4,000,000 (excluding Algeria, a heavy tax), while the amount to be paid into the French treasury on account of various colonial services was set down at over £160,000. Nor does this statement exhaust the whole expenditure, for both the War and Marine departments expend large sums not shown against the colonies.

In the present survey we are merely concerned with French Indo-China and Oceania. The former, since the treaties concluded with Siam in 1893 and China in 1895, by which its frontiers were defined, has a total area half as large again as that of France, and a population, as already said, of about 22,000,000. The imports for 1899 were: from France and French colonies £2,207,000, and from "other countries" (chiefly Hong Kong and

Singapore) £2,403,000; but it must be noted that goods exported from France to Tongking *viâ* Hong Kong are treated as foreign goods! The exports were: to France and French colonies £894,000, and to other countries £4,572,000. The small proportion of the exports to the former is remarkable — only about 16.5 per cent. of the whole. The whole share of France is not one-half of the imports and one-fifth of the exports, and even this position has only been attained by means of the high protective tariff which since 1894 (the date of its imposition) has brought about an increase of two and a half fold — from 20 to over 50 million francs.

So far little has been done with Tongking and Cochin-China, though both are very fertile countries with great rice-growing deltas, and Annam, "the stick between two bags of rice," — the bags being represented by Cochin-China and Tongking and the stick by a mountain range with a narrow band between it and the sea (Annam), — is of little value, except as tying together the northern and southern possessions. The earlier dreams of France of building up in further Asia a *France Nouvelle* — the lesser Colonial Empire, as North Africa was to be the greater — have never been realised. The great natural obstacle to the development of Indo-China is the absence of navigable rivers, but the chief reason of failure is the defect in her colonial system. The Songkoi river in Tongking, "the splendid waterway" of the early days of French occupation, has been proved to be worthless, and "the key to China" has therefore been sought in a costly railway project, — the railway which is to traverse Yunnan (the south-westernmost province of China) and tap Szechuan, the richest and most populous province of that Empire. Some little time ago a loan of £8,000,000

was voted for the purpose of railways in Indo-China, a considerable portion being intended for the Tongking-Yunnan line. But the Chinese provinces neighbouring Tongking are the poorest in China, — part of Kwang-tung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan, — inhabited for the most part by poor aboriginal tribes who have never recovered from the shock inflicted by the terrible Mohammedan rebellion which devastated Yunnan and left its mark on the other Southern provinces. Even Frenchmen are now becoming sceptical of diverting to French Indo-China the trade of Szechuan, which can be more easily carried by means of the Yangtsze waterway, and men like Leroy-Beaulieu have drawn attention to the difficulties created by the French Customs, which examines everything, fails to close the packets properly, and in other ways does its best to stifle trade. One may escape the Chinese internal dues by means of transit-passes, Frenchmen exclaim, but how escape the French Customs?

In Oceania very little is being accomplished, and indeed, if France cannot do more with her possessions on the mainland, she is not likely to accomplish much in her oversea establishments, which are isolated and scattered over a wide area in the Western Pacific. The chief of these establishments is at Tahiti. From Papeete, the capital, the French neighbouring possessions are governed by a Governor and an army of 235 functionaries of all descriptions, with whom the colonists are on very bad terms. The present state of tutelage is locally denounced, reforms are demanded, and they are badly needed. The Chinese are here in full force, the trade being almost entirely in their hands. All sorts of projects are discussed for attracting French colonists, but in vain! Meanwhile France

SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS OF MIXED BLOOD

occupies the second place in imports and the sixth in exports.

New Caledonia, known to the outer world as a French dumping-ground for criminals, is administered by a Governor, who in military matters has a military colleague and in civil affairs acts in accord with a privy council, assisted by numerous functionaries. There are a certain number of islands attached for administrative purposes to New Caledonia. Noumea, the capital, has a municipality, but enjoys a very evil reputation, — "Criminopolis" it was christened by a Frenchman, — the majority of its inhabitants being convicts or connected with the convict class. Of the 7000 inhabitants of Noumea only 4000 are free, and of the total population of the island (about 60,000) there were recently 10,000 convicts in five classes (*libérés* or undergoing sentence), about 6000 "colonists," and nearly 3500 officials and soldiers (of whom the former were actually half). Political prisoners are no longer sent out, and the transportation has been greatly diminished owing to the strenuous objections of Australia. Few women avail themselves of the privilege accorded of joining the *libérés* as wives. The

NEW HEBRIDES NATIVE IN WAR HEAD-DRESS

natives number 30,000, and there are about a couple of thousand Asiatics. There are three reserves of land (state, penal, and native), and strenuous efforts are being made to induce colonists to emigrate from France, but so far without success. More than half the island is mountainous and not cultivable, but New Caledonia possesses many of the essentials for European colonisation, its mineral resources being particularly rich and the climate not unsuitable for Europeans in many respects. The great drawbacks to development are the want of communications, especially railways, and a good harbour and proper labour supply. The isolation of the island, too, is a great hindrance to its progress. A French line is said to be in contemplation from Cochin-China to New Caledonia, Tahiti, and other French possessions in the Pacific, while endeavours are being made to secure the connection of Honolulu and Tahiti.

With its many advantages New Caledonia in other hands might have been a flourishing colony, but neither French peasants, French planters, or French traders will come, while French capital is sunk, not in French possessions, but in the Transvaal, or in Russian loans!

Reference has been made elsewhere to the New Hebrides, which for the protection of life and property have been, since 1887, under the authority of a mixed commission of British and French naval officers on the Pacific station. The French have avowed that to bring those islands within the sphere of French action is one of their aspirations, and a representative is to be sent there to watch French interests. The objection entertained by the Australians to any further extension of French influence from their convict dumping-ground, New Caledonia, already remarked on, was due not only

to the transportation system but to the generally unsatisfactory administration of the French, and the strongest objections are held to France obtaining control of the New Hebrides. The continuance of the Republic in New Caledonia, the Loyalty islands, or the New Hebrides, of no value to France, wedged between the important Crown Colony Fiji and Australia, and in the very heart of the British Oceanic islands, is a sore in the side of Australia and should be removed.

It is now an accepted fact that the French are not successful colonisers, and yet, at first sight, it is difficult to see why this should be so. In the early ages of the colonising era France sent out men equal to any in the genius for winning new worlds, and yet the work of Labourdonnais and Dupleix in India, and Champlain and Montcalm in Canada, has resulted in no lasting benefit to their country. The French are not lacking in enterprise or courage, and they have never fallen into the Portuguese error of mingling their blood with that of the natives and sinking in the scale of civilisation, and yet the French colonies, with the exception perhaps of Algeria, cannot be considered a source of strength to the mother country, but rather a burden.

The root of it lies deep in the French character. Nowhere in the world, even among other Latin races, is there a nation which combines gregariousness so fully with domesticity. The Frenchman only leaves his beloved land under compulsion, and wherever he goes his one thought is to make a little France, — a little Paris, — to surround himself with the *agréments* of his home-life, and to forget his exile as far as possible. If the pressure of population in France made emigration a necessity her so-called colonies might benefit, but, this

not being the case, it is only ne'er-do-wells and reluctant officials — *restaurateurs*, *coiffeurs*, *et fonctionnaires*, so a Frenchman has said — who go to the ends of the earth to make a new France. They regard it as exile and the country of their adoption is never home — not even temporarily — to them. The French fail, not because they cannot deal with and organise native races, but because they have not the desire — perhaps not the power — of adapting themselves to new peoples and new countries. They are not practical and are always attempting too much, and no sooner have possession of a territory than they begin to look still further afield, thus following a will-o'-the-wisp. It must be taken into consideration, of course, that France has no colonies in white men's countries, which is due to the fact that, not feeling the need for them, she neither clung to what she once had nor persistently struggled for more. Commerce was not the lode-star to her that it has been to the Anglo-Saxon, rather influence, power, military glory; and the desire for these, though constant, has been but spasmodically evinced. The French colonial officials, as is not surprising under this *régime*, are seldom either competent or trustworthy. Brought up in the traditions of a red-tape bureaucracy, — where the letter is the thing, not the spirit, — they owe their appointment to the "spoils system," and as their hearts are not really in their work they try to supply the place of enthusiasm and initiative with routine, uniformity, and a passion for details. The French code is applied without change in every quarter of the world, and the modern Eastern possessions are treated exactly as if they were colonies of old France. Centralisation as regards the colonies is a marked feature of a highly

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centralised general system, and the expenses of government are enormous. The number of officials at the Ministry of Colonies five years ago was 231, as against 79 at the British Colonial Office. The number of *fonctionnaires* is quite out of proportion to the work accomplished, for France does not give her colonies those advantages of improved communications, roads, railways, canals, ports, hospitals, and schools, which are part and parcel of Western civilisation, and are so liberally conferred by Britain. Consequently the colonial trade does not prove a valuable asset to the mother country, most of that of Indo-China, for instance, being in British and German hands, and it is doubtful whether the political status gained by the possession of Eastern colonies under these circumstances is worth having at the price of such sacrifices.

The qualities that have made for failure in other colonies have not been lacking in the Pacific islands. The Society group are said to be among the most beautiful in Oceania, Tahiti, in particular, possessing lovely scenery and a fine climate, while the natives, now all Christians, are physically among the finest specimens of the Polynesian race. And yet the oppressions of a horde of incompetent and often corrupt officials, who owe their appointment to some backstairs political influence, have at times turned this paradise into a hell on earth. The European traders who desired to make the best of natural resources, and to create a flourishing inter-island trade, have been discouraged and sometimes driven away by official meddling and impositions. The condition of New Caledonia has already been referred to, and although Tahiti and other French islands have not been cursed in the same degree they have inevitably be-

come the dumping-ground and haven for numbers of scallywags and beach-combers, who seek refuge under their chaotic administration. If any man needs a gallery to play to in order to act well it is the Frenchman. Without his gallery he morally and physically goes to pieces. There are, it is to be feared, a good many "pieces" in French Oceania.

To contrast the German and French methods in a few words. The Germans fail in their colonies because they cannot recognise the essential fact that the official is there to serve the trader. They "dragoon" the traders, treat them like raw recruits, and enforce an illiberal commercial policy, which interferes with the progress of the place. The administration generally has the flavour of the iron-bound military system or the pedantic bureaucracy of the motherland, neither suited to the exigencies of the case. The French, on the other hand, fail because, as has been said, they overgovern by a horde of inferior officials, try to keep the trade in French hands, thus adopting a short-sighted policy, and instead of being practical and dealing with what lies immediately to their hands are always looking abroad and following up some visionary idea. Of the two, however, Germany is the Power that will inevitably play an important part in the future history of the Pacific, because, whatever mistakes she may make in her colonial system, she is driven by circumstances to a policy of expansion and to the further extension of her trade and strengthening of her sea power.

To turn briefly to other Powers. The Russians have crossed Asia and occupied a vast region bordering the Pacific and China Sea, where they are now in possession of a considerable seaboard with good harbours and important naval bases fully fortified. Their position is

CHRISTIANISED POLYNESIANS FROM TAHITI

being strengthened by means of railways and colonisation with all the resources of a State which means to have a dominant voice in the Far East and to exercise a great influence in the future of the Northern Pacific. They have the enormous advantage over other Europeans that they have been throughout, and are still, in a white man's country.

The Muscovite, however, is on his trial in the lands bordering the Pacific. If he should fail it will be chiefly because all the initiative comes from the top and not from the bottom, everything being done by the State and nothing by the individual.

POLYNESIAN TYPE

The Chinaman has no colonies of his own, — he has lost those he had, — and now parts of the eighteen provinces, the heart of the once mighty empire, are passing from his hands. But the 320 millions of Chinese on the shores of the Pacific are still a mighty power, whether left to work out their own salvation or brought under the control of European Powers and utilised by them. Shut out from the English-speaking and English-peopled countries on and bordering the Pacific, — the territories belonging to Britain and the United States, — they will seek their for-

tunes more and more in British possessions, such as Hong Kong, the Straits, Burma, India, and the Oceanic islands, in Siam, perhaps even in parts of Africa, and will find widely increased opportunities within China whenever their own country is opened, whether by themselves or by foreign Powers.

The utilisation of the huge force lying dormant in China is one of the great problems of the future and upon its solution depends to a great extent the future of the Pacific.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

In dealing with the question of the Mastery of the Pacific the writer has no intention of usurping the mantle of Elijah and committing himself to any prophecies as to the actual details of that struggle by which, during the coming century, the Mastery will be decided. The reader of this book has been presented with a picture, as complete and accurate as was within the scope of the writer, of the conditions prevailing in the Pacific spheres of the Great Powers, of the state of the native peoples, and of the burning questions of the hour. It is possible for any one who is acquainted with the state of affairs thus described to form his own opinions as to the probable trend of future events, and the aim of this book is rather to direct attention and stimulate interest than to dictate policy. It may, however, be useful to gather together some of the many threads in the tangled web of Pacific affairs.

The struggle in the Far East (which began with the Chino-Japanese war) came upon us as a surprise and found us unprepared. It is a struggle which must inevitably be decided by military power, and therefore will eventually be mainly fought out — though perhaps bloodlessly — by those Powers which have convenient military bases — Russia and Japan. The arena of the coming struggle is, however, shifted to an ocean sphere, and the Mastery of the Pacific will be decided by naval supremacy, and will

therefore be most keenly contested by the Great Sea Powers.

In this new arena there are many features the significance of which have hitherto been unappreciated. Here Orient and Occident meet, both alike on alien ground. Little known, unvalued, neglected, the events of the past few years have brought the Pacific Ocean into such prominence that, whereas sixteen years ago a British statesman of the first rank could hardly be induced to annex part of an important island adjacent to Australia, and it was the fashion to call the British over-sea possessions "millstones about our neck," now the Great Powers watch jealously over the smallest and most remote coral-reef islands, and the whole of the vast ocean is practically partitioned out into spheres.

A glance at the map which accompanies this volume will show how numerous are the lines of steamer routes, practically a network covering the ocean, and all dating from recent years. Cable lines have been laid and others are in construction, while new ones are projected. The two great continents of Asia and America which form the limits of the Pacific on either side, for many centuries barred the way to progress because the advancing nations on each were found on the side furthest from that ocean. The Suez Canal opened a short sea-route from Europe to the Far East. Trans-continental railways have since bridged the distance overland, not only from East to West in America, but from West to East in the European-Asiatic hemisphere, and thus approaches to the Pacific have been opened and its isolation destroyed. A fresh access to the Pacific is about to be made in the trans-isthmian canal, and this complement to the Suez route will prove the greatest stimulus to the devel-

opment of the new ocean sphere and of the Far East generally.

Among the most significant features of the situation which mark the beginning of a new century is the advent of Russia, coming *overland*, on the Pacific littoral, where she has acquired an important seaboard with good harbours and a maritime population. On the other hand, we have the sudden appearance of the United States, coming *over-sea*, and establishing herself in a large, populous, and important archipelago on the borders of Asia. Thus the greatest Autocracy and the greatest Democracy meet in the Far East, and the question of their future relations is one of the most interesting raised by our study of the situation. Will the United States, abandoning the policy by which her foreign relations have hitherto been guided, follow the example of Britain, or will she consider what may be termed her immediate material interests and give the support of her contenance to Russia by following out to a logical conclusion the Monroe Doctrine? That Russia desires to apply such a doctrine to all Northern Asia is not to be doubted, and if the United States in her new sphere should take a similar view of her own interests, we may yet see the two Great Powers of the Future, the Great Autocracy and the Great Democracy, Slav and Teuton, dominating the Far and the Farthest East as two gigantic Trusts.

The future of China is a momentous question, and one of great importance in the Mastery of the Pacific. The question includes not only the internal evolution of the Great Empire, but the problems in connection with labour-supply which have been so frequently touched on in these pages. The partition of China by the

Powers would solve none of the difficulties, and would raise a crop of international entanglements which would be infinitely more serious. We are not in a position to predict the future of China, for we have by no means fathomed the possibilities of her amazing people, and they may yet surprise us by unforeseen developments. At present it seems as if China must pass under the influence of Russia in foreign affairs, but from the Western point of view the great hope for the Empire is that the chief commercial Powers may unite to preserve the integrity of what remains of China and that she may pass under the tutelage of Japan.

The newness of the chief factors in the Pacific problem is a remarkable feature. The young Republic of the States is in reality little more than two centuries younger than the young Autocracy of Russia, which was but a small half-savage kingdom in the time of Elizabeth. The Regenerated Japan is only exceeded in its youth by the Commonwealth of Australia, whose birth is of yesterday. The ancient Powers of Portugal and Spain have practically disappeared from the sphere which they discovered. Holland remains, firmly planted, but stagnant, yet quivering inevitably from the shock of contact with all this modernity. The future of the Dutch East Indies is being slowly but surely decided, and in this connection we must recollect that progress usually moves on the lines of least resistance. The Dutch have been inclined to believe that passive resistance is the most effective, but it remains to be seen whether this will be the case when so strong a wave of change dashes against the barrier.

Australasia is only beginning to feel her feet, and must still be regarded as an almost unknown quantity, but the

immense resources and energies of the young Commonwealth make her a principal factor in the struggle. The similarity between many of her ideas and institutions and those of the United States is marked, and might bring about a convergence of policy — a possible *dénouement* which deserves the deepest consideration both in Great Britain and the United States.

Among the most interesting studies afforded by the present conditions in the Pacific area are the different methods pursued by the great colonising Powers. No greater contrast can be found than that afforded by the systems of the British and Dutch, as exemplified in their Far Eastern possessions, and the United States and Japan, newer arrivals on the field, are making interesting experiments in an attempt to formulate new methods. Spain of old, Germany and France in a lesser degree, afford other examples of colonial policies, and the diverse results attained by all in dealing with a people practically of the same stock are extremely instructive.

It has been said already that naval supremacy will decide the Mastery of the Pacific, and by that expression is meant not mere forcible domination, or territorial expansion, but the maintenance of commercial rights, the control of communications, and the dictation of a policy favourable to the ambitions of the successful Power or Powers. The naval development of the United States and Japan will be the earliest outcome of the situation, and other Powers, hitherto regarded as chiefly military, are already straining in the same direction. Whatever may be the success of their efforts, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States possess natural advantages which will count for much if properly utilised.

On the Pacific Slope of Canada Britain has everything

necessary for the creation of a fresh base for sea power, and among the many duties that devolve upon our Empire at this critical point in her career none seem to the writer more important than the utilisation and development of that magnificent White Man's country, Canada, and more especially British Columbia. When the glamour which the continent of Africa has cast over Britons has somewhat faded (as it certainly will), they will turn to those countries over-sea, their own without let or hindrance, where Nature has been more than bountiful and where, instead of sacrificing valuable lives in a vain attempt to surmount climatic difficulties, they may found and perpetuate a race unequalled in physique and those great qualities which have made the parent stock so powerful. Australasia, though hardly to the same degree, affords great opportunities for development, and for the extension of sea-power in the Pacific. There are two features in connection with the British dominions beyond the seas on which the writer has already dwelt, but which he desires to bring into greater prominence. These are the need of those which are pre-eminently White Men's countries for a white population of the right sort, and the necessity for closer federation of all with the mother country — a federation which would above all ensure their equal participation in Imperial defence.

Federation, consolidation, the development of naval power, — these are the immediate and pressing necessities for the scattered Empire of Britain. The great need for the Dominions themselves is forethought in their policy, which it is perhaps a little sanguine to expect from such young communities. Although Federation

has long exercised the minds of British statesmen, the question has received a fresh stimulus by the recent shifting of the centre of gravity of the activities of the Great Powers and by the necessity for Imperial defence. The new problems in international politics which are raised by fresh conditions and an increased area make it more and more imperative that the British Empire should be bound together by the closest ties, that the scattered constituents of which it is made up should be united in foreign policy, and that all should help in bearing the Imperial burden.

Japan enjoys one advantage over her future rivals in the Pacific. Her island Empire with all its resources is situated in a commanding position in the arena of the coming struggle. With all the necessary elements for the creation of naval power, Japan will play an important part in the future, and it is to be hoped that from the similarity of her aims and interests with those of the British and American nations a common policy may spring up.

The United States, in the opinion of the writer, will be the dominant factor in the Mastery of the Pacific. She has all the advantages, qualifications, and some of the ambitions necessary for the *rôle*, and her unrivalled resources and fast-increasing population provide the material for future greatness. She is, however, embarking on an entirely new phase in her career, and is taking risks and responsibilities which she has hitherto been spared, and which, if they are to be carried to a successful conclusion, demand certain sacrifices and a remodelling of many of her most hide-bound conventions. A great deal of the machinery necessary for dealing with the complicated web of foreign affairs into which the

United States has been drawn has yet to be created and organised, and large demands will be made on the patriotism and public spirit of the people.

The New Century dawns on a world in which the aspirations of the idealists are as little realised as ever. The two great nations who speak the English tongue are both at war, engaged on difficult and dangerous enterprises. And yet the writer urges them to further effort, sounds the tocsin in their ears, and bids them to prepare for a fresh struggle. There can be no rest, no pause in the march of a great empire; it must advance or decay — history has made that plain.

The struggle for which the nations are preparing may be a step in the scale of the world's progress in that it need not involve the shedding of blood. Forethought, preparation, and sustained effort will be the only effective weapons in the coming conflict, and these alone will decide the Mastery of the Pacific.

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